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## ART. I.—THE PUBLIC DOMAIN OF THE UNITED STATES.

- 1.—*Report of a Select Committee, of the House of Representatives, at the Second Session of the Twentieth Congress, on a Motion to distribute the Proceeds of the Sales of Public Lands among the several States, in proportion to their population.*
- 2.—*Reports of the several Land Officers, pursuant to a Resolution of the Senate of the United States, passed the 25th day of April, 1828.*

WHEN we consider the unexampled rapidity with which the western states have acquired population and importance, we are surprised, not only at that fact, but at the inadequate ideas which have heretofore prevailed as to the magnitude and resources of that country. We are a travelling and a calculating people, and it seems strange that those who visited the western wilds in early times, should not have foreseen the events which have since transpired. That they did make golden reports we are aware; but contrary to all experience, those reports have fallen short of the truth, and all that has been dreamt and prophesied in relation to this region, by its most sanguine admirers, has been more than realized. When a few hunters, encamped in the forests of Kentucky, heard the report of the battle of Lexington, and gave that name to the spot where they reposed, how little could they have imagined, that within the duration of one human life, a town of excelling beauty, and a population remarkable for its cultivation, would spring to maturity in those shades—or that in the

wilderness beyond them, a population would grow up within the same period, superior in number to that which was then contending for independence! These things could not have entered the head of any but a poet, or a madman. And when more intelligent men, with better opportunities, explored this region, after the germes of its greatness had begun to expand, even they had but faint conceptions of its destiny. We will endeavour to assign a few of the causes why this country was thus underrated, and why it has outstripped the largest calculations which were made in its favour.

Forty years ago, it was known that the western lands were fertile, and watered by fine rivers, and settlements were made on the eastern side of the Ohio and Mississippi. But the inhabitants were exposed to the hostile attacks of the Indians, who occupied the whole region to the west and north, except a few spots held by the French. The hostile dispositions of the Indian tribes, and their superiority of numbers, rendered it dangerous to explore any part of the country in which they hunted, and impracticable to visit large portions of it. It was therefore but partially explored, and immense districts, which are now considered in all respects the most desirable, were then totally unknown. As the Indians retired, that country came into notice, as a fine landscape is disclosed by the gradual rising of a curtain. The parts that were settled were continually subject to invasion, and the inhabitants dreadfully harassed. The most shocking enormities were perpetrated; neither life nor property was safe; cattle were driven off, houses burned, fields ravaged, women and children murdered. Such atrocities no longer occur; the powerful arm of our government, and the mild influence of its pacific institutions, are felt from the Atlantic to the Rocky Mountains, and on the remotest frontier the dwelling of the pioneer is sacred. The murder of a white man by an Indian is now of rare occurrence, perhaps as rare as the murder of white men by each other; and the massacre of a family is no longer apprehended. This happy change has taken place since the last war with Great Britain; and we may attribute the rapid growth of the western country within the last fifteen years, partly to the security with which it has been explored and made known, and the safety enjoyed by the people, who have thus been enabled to spread over the surface in every direction.

The country was at first difficult of access; indeed, for all the beneficial purposes of commerce it was almost inaccessible. The port of New-Orleans, and the country at the mouth of the Mississippi, were held by Spain, by whom our right to navigate that river was denied. Had the latter privilege been conceded to us, the possession by a foreign power, of the only port of entry, and place of deposit, which was accessible to the western



people, must have rendered the trade in that direction precarious, by subjecting it to expensive duties, and frequent interruptions. Setting these difficulties aside, New-Orleans was not then as it is now, a large commercial city; it was a small town, without capital or enterprise, and reported to be so fatally unhealthy, that its future growth was considered as entirely improbable. And lastly, the navigation from that place, to our northern ports, on the Atlantic coast, was, as it still remains to a considerable extent, dangerous and expensive.

The communication through our own interior was quite as unpromising. The Allegheny ridge formed a barrier, which was then almost impassable. The width of this chain is seldom less than sixty miles; and it presents in its whole extent a series of mountains, cliffs, and chasms, as wild and hideous in their appearance, as they seem insurmountable in their character. No practical man of that day, imagined the remote probability of constructing a good road through this district. To climb its precipices, to hew down its rocks, to throw bridges over its gulphs, to pass its headlong torrents,—in short, to enable the traveller to journey with ease and rapidity over this Alpine region, has been the recent work of genius and enterprise, and the result of a spirit peculiar to our own times.

The purchase of Louisiana, the free navigation of the Mississippi, the increased importance of the New-Orleans market, the improvements in the coasting navigation, the New-York canal, and the turnpikes which cross the mountains at various points, may be set down as among the causes which have led to the rapid growth of this country; and it may be added, that many of these events were as unforeseen as they have been eminently great and advantageous. Some of them have all the brilliancy of splendid achievement, and all of them have contributed to increase the wealth, and elevate the character of the nation.

The introduction of steam-boats upon the western waters, deserves a separate mention, because it has contributed more than any other single cause, perhaps more than all other causes which have grown out of human skill, combined, to advance the prosperity of the West. The striking natural features of this country are, its magnitude—its fertility—its mineral wealth—the number and extent of its rivers. The peculiar adaptation of the country to commercial purposes, is evident. The richness of the soil, and the abundance of all the useful minerals, combine to render agricultural labours easy, cheap, and greatly productive. The amount of produce raised for consumption, and for export, is great; and the people are therefore not only able, but liberally disposed, to purchase foreign products. They do, in fact, live more freely, and purchase more amply, than the farmers of any other country. The amount, therefore, of commer-

cial capital employed, as compared with the amount of population, is great; and the vast superficial extent of the country over which these operations may be extended with safety and facility, and whose products may be exchanged, concentrated, or distributed, is unexampled. There is nothing in the topography of any other country, to compare with the western rivers. The Mississippi and her tributaries may be navigated in various directions, to the distance of two thousand miles from the ocean; and every portion of this immense valley is intersected by these natural canals. In these respects nature has been prodigal; it was left to human skill and energy, to turn her gifts to the best advantage, and never was the intellect of man more usefully employed than in the discovery and successful introduction of steam navigation. It was all that the western country wanted. The rapidity with which new channels of trade are now developed is astonishing. Four years ago, few steam-boats ascended the Mississippi farther than St. Louis; now there are six steam-boats plying regularly between that place and Galena, a town in the north-west corner of Illinois, and *five hundred* miles north of St. Louis, while other boats occasionally ascend two hundred miles further, to the Falls of St. Anthony. We can all recollect when an expedition of discovery to the latter place was quite an exploit.

After all, the greatest cause of prosperity in the West, is the wide extent of good lands open to the reception of emigrants, and the flourishing state of agriculture. The farmers live well and have elbow-room. The public lands are broad and valuable; affording ample room for millions in addition to those who now occupy the country, while they constitute an immense fund of national wealth. It is to these lands that we propose to turn our attention.

The *public domain*, as it is called, consists of all the lands belonging to the general government, as contradistinguished from the unimproved lands belonging to the individual states or private owners. They have recently occupied much of the attention of Congress, and there is reason to believe that the legislation of that body in respect to them, is likely to assume hereafter a higher importance, and a more delicate character than it even now presents. It is only necessary to notice the fact, that in all of what are called the western states, the Union is proprietary of the vacant lands, in order to suggest the intricate relations which are likely to grow up between the general and state governments. To those who view these questions in their probable effect upon *state rights*, the subject assumes a fearful interest; but we do not profess to be among those, or to entertain any doubt that the well-balanced powers of the general government on the one hand, and of the respective states on the

other, will be maintained in their original integrity, as long as our confederacy shall endure. Nor is it our intention, in the remarks which we shall make, to advocate any local interest, or advance the dogmas of any political sect ; our object is simply to *state the subject*, by presenting a few of its most prominent details, with such information relative to the actual condition of the country, as may properly be connected with it.

In the western states, this subject has for several years furnished a topic of animated public discussion. In that country, it is a matter of vital interest, and is every day growing in influence, and expanding in magnitude ; and the time is fast approaching, when political aspirants, whatever may be their principles in other respects, will be required to be orthodox upon this all-absorbing question. Yet the politicians of the West are by no means unanimous ; and although the popular voice has given currency to a few leading propositions, the minds of intelligent men are much divided as to the proper course of policy to be pursued by the general government, in the disposition of the public domain.

By a calculation submitted to Congress at its last session, by one of its committees, and founded on facts which seem conclusive, it appears probable that in 1830 the population of the United States will be *thirteen* millions, of which the new states will contain *one third*, and that in 1860 the population will be *thirty-two* millions, of which *fourteen* millions will be contained in the Atlantic states, and *eighteen* millions in the western states. Thus the inhabitants of the Atlantic states having now the majority in Congress, are legislating upon the interests of those, who, in less than thirty years, will acquire the right and power to exercise a controlling influence in the national legislature, and who from a dependent condition will have arisen to complete sovereignty. Where the population of a country is thus rapidly increasing—where that increase tends inevitably to a transfer of power from one section of the Union to another—and where the anticipated change is so near at hand, that individuals of the present generation may live to witness its accomplishment, every measure which bears upon the subject becomes deeply interesting. Of such measures, those which relate to the ownership and sale of the public lands seem to have the most direct operation upon the growth of the new states and territories, a large majority of the emigrants to such countries being agriculturists, who would not settle upon the soil in any other condition than as its proprietors.

It will be readily seen, that this is precisely the kind of subject which is calculated to awaken sectional feelings, and upon which, therefore, a great diversity of opinion may prevail. That it does prevail, is becoming every day more evident ; and the

public domain is now viewed in different lights by different politicians. Some consider it as a source of revenue, to be disposed of to the best advantage for the national treasury; others contend that it should be put to sale in the manner best calculated to promote emigration to that quarter; a third class, and the most numerous, are willing to make a liberal compromise between the two former opinions; while a fourth deny the right of the United States to the fee simple of any lands lying within the limits of a sovereign state.

The subject therefore naturally divides itself into two branches of inquiry;—1. As to the title of the United States to the public lands; and—2. As to the policy pursued in its disposal.

1. At the formation of the Federal Government, all the vacant lands belonged to the states respectively within whose limits they were situated; for as that government consisted of a confederacy of states, each of which retained its proprietary rights, the United States acquired by the union no property in the soil. The uninhabited wilds lying to the west, and as yet not clearly defined by any established boundaries, were claimed by the adjacent states, and portions of them by foreign nations under conflicting claims, but all subject to the paramount Indian title. The title therefore of the United States to that country is derived:—1. From treaties with foreign nations;—2. From treaties with the Indian tribes; and—3. From treaties with individual states, members of the Union.

The treaties with foreign nations, by which territory has been acquired, are those of 1783 and 1794 with Great Britain, of 1795 and 1820 with Spain, and of 1803 with France. It is sufficient to state of these treaties, that by them we acquired Louisiana and the Floridas, and extinguished all claims of foreign nations to the immense regions lying west of the several states, and extending to the Pacific Ocean.

The lands east of the Mississippi, and contained within the boundaries designated by the treaty with Great Britain of 1783, were claimed by individual states, and the title of the United States to that territory is derived from cessions made by those states.

These cessions embrace three distinct tracts of country.—

1. The whole territory north of the river Ohio, and west of Pennsylvania, extending northwardly to the northern boundary of the United States, and westwardly to the Mississippi, was claimed by Virginia, and that state was in possession of the French settlements of Vincennes and Kaskaskia, which she had occupied and defended during the Revolutionary war. The states of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New-York, claimed portions of the same territory. The United States, by cessions from those four states, acquired an indisputable title to the whole.



This tract comprises the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and the territory of Michigan.

2. North Carolina ceded to the United States all her vacant lands lying west of the Allegheny mountains within the breadth of her charter. This territory comprises the state of Tennessee.

3. South Carolina and Georgia ceded their titles to that tract of country which now composes the states of Alabama and Mississippi.

The United States having thus become the sole proprietary of what have since been called the public lands, the nation was rescued from evils of the most threatening and embarrassing aspect. The claims of foreign nations, adverse to our own, to the expanded regions lying west of the several states, and extending to the Pacific, were extinguished—the boundaries of the then frontier states were defined, and they were prevented from growing to an inordinate size, and acquiring an undue preponderance in the government—the interfering claims of several states to the same territory were silenced—but above all, the general government, in acquiring the sole jurisdiction over the vacant lands, was enabled to establish a uniform system for their settlement, and the erection of new states. The disinterested policy of the states which made these liberal cessions, cannot be too highly applauded; Virginia, in particular, displayed a magnanimity which entitles her to the lasting gratitude of the American people.

The cession from Virginia is the most important, not only on account of the magnitude of the country ceded, but in regard to the conditions imposed on the United States respecting its future disposition. It is provided in that treaty, “that all the lands within the territory so ceded to the United States, and not reserved for special purposes, shall be considered as a common fund for the use and benefit of such of the United States as have become, or shall become, members of the confederation or federal alliance of said states, Virginia inclusive, according to their usual respective proportions in the general charge and expenditure, and shall be faithfully and *bona fide* disposed of for that purpose, and for no other use or purpose whatsoever.” It is also provided, that “the said territory shall be divided into distinct republican states, not more than five nor less than three, as the situation of that country and future circumstances may require; which states shall hereafter become members of the Federal Union, and have the same rights of sovereignty, freedom, and independence, as the original states.”

The treaties with the Indian tribes, for the extinguishment of their title to different tracts of country, have been numerous. Those tribes are recognised, in many respects, as independent nations. They are governed by their own laws, and are acknow-

ledged to have the right to sell their lands, or to occupy them, at their own option. The United States claims the right of pre-emption, and forbids the sale of Indian lands to other nations, or to individuals. But in no instance have those lands been surveyed, or offered for sale, antecedently to their purchase from the Indians, nor has any compulsion ever been used to extort from the latter any portion of their territory. In several instances, the same land has been purchased from different tribes, so liberal has this government been in its policy, and so careful to avoid even the appearance of injustice.

As a considerable part of the country which is now held by the United States as public lands, had been successively subject to several foreign powers, portions of it were claimed by inhabitants and others, either by right of occupancy, or by titles said to be derived from those several governments, or from the local authorities acting under them. To investigate such claims, boards of commissioners have been appointed by different acts of Congress, in the several territories, whose powers and duties have varied according to the nature of the claims to be examined before them; some having power to decide finally, while others were only authorized to investigate and report their opinion. But the intention of the government seems uniformly to have been to guard against imposition—to confirm all *bona fide* claims derived from a legitimate authority, even when the title had not been completed—to allow claims founded on equitable principles—and to secure in their possessions all actual settlers who were found on the land when the United States took possession of the country where it was situated, although they had only a right by occupancy.

So far, then, as a title by purchase can be gained, that title has been acquired by the Federal Republic. She has extinguished every title which could be set up as adverse to her own; namely, those of foreign nations, those of the Indian tribes, and those of such states of the Union as possessed or alleged them; and she has relinquished to individuals every acre to which the shadow of a right could be shown either in law or equity.

The validity of those purchases, or of the rights acquired under them, has never been disputed; but since the acquisition of that territory, portions of it have been erected into separate states, which have been admitted into the Union, and it has been contended in Congress, and elsewhere, that by the act of admitting a state into the Union, the Union forfeits claim to the vacant lands within the boundaries of such state. It is contended, that, under the laws of nations, “the *sovereignty of a state* includes the right to exercise supreme and exclusive control over all the lands within it:” That “the *freedom of a state*, is the right to do whatever may be done by any nation; and particularly

includes the right to dispose of all public lands within its limits, according to its own will and pleasure ;” and that *sovereignty* and *freedom* are inseparable from the condition of an independent state. It is urged, that the original states possess supreme and exclusive control over the lands within *their* limits, and that the new states being by compact invested with “the *same* rights of freedom, sovereignty, and independence, with the *other* states,” the right to dispose of the soil, is among the attributes of sovereignty thus guarantied to them. It is contended that the Federal Government cannot hold lands within the limits of a state, because that power has not been expressly given by the Constitution, except in the case of “places purchased by the consent of the legislature of the state in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts,” &c. ; and that the power of disposing of the soil, not being given, is reserved to the states respectively. That section of the Constitution which declares that “Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules respecting the territory, or other property belonging to the United States, and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular state,” is said to be “clearly adapted to the territorial rights of the United States, *beyond the limits or boundaries of any of the states*, and to their chattel interests,” and therefore not applicable to this question.

The objections thus raised are ingenious, and the immense magnitude of the rights and value of the property involved, give them a serious and imposing aspect. Without intending to take any side in the argument, we will state some of the points which are urged in opposition to those objections.

The cessions by Virginia and the other states, were made antecedently to the adoption of the Federal Constitution ; and having been ratified in the manner prescribed by the articles of confederation, the title vested in the United States was valid, for the purposes expressed in the several deeds of cession. The Federal Constitution having been subsequently adopted, the clause giving to Congress the “power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory, &c.,” must have had reference to the territory and other property *then held*, and of course, vested in Congress the power to “dispose of” the lands in question, and to make “all needful rules and regulations” respecting them. When, therefore, the people inhabiting those territories applied for the erection of state governments, and for admission into the Union, it was competent to Congress, having power to legislate on the subject matter, to make conditions reserving her own proprietary rights. Such conditions were made with all the new states, as will be seen by inspecting their several constitutions. Those constitutions were submitted

to Congress for its ratification, and, of course, have the binding effect of compacts, as between the parties. In all of those constitutions, the proprietary character of the United States is distinctly recognised; and in all of them, large quantities of land are transferred by the United States to the states respectively, for specific purposes, and equivalents reserved to be paid to the United States in return. Subsequently to their admission into the Union, all of those states have been applicants to Congress for *donations* of land lying within their respective limits, and all of them have received large quantities of such land. It may be remarked also, that the laws of nations have no binding effect as between the members of a confederacy, or as between a confederated nation and either of its members, when such laws come into contact with the internal policy, laws, or compacts of such nation. Every nation has a right to regulate its own affairs, and to govern or to make compacts with its own members, without respect to the laws of nations, which could in such cases be appealed to, only where foreign nations, or others not parties to the laws or compacts so made, should be affected by them. Whatever, then, might have been the situation of those lands, under the laws of nations, if no legislation had taken place in our conventions and legislatures respecting them; a far different case is presented, when, by solemn acts, by express laws, and by tacit acquiescence, the proprietary rights of the parties have been clearly settled and often recognised.

It is to be understood, that the United States can assume no sovereignty over any of the new states, or over her lands within such state, other than such as is strictly proprietary. Her title gives her no civil jurisdiction. She can claim no taxes, demand no duties, exact no obedience, other than she may lawfully exact from the citizens of all other states. She simply holds her property, with the right to sell and convey the same at her own pleasure, and with the power to make needful rules and regulations for its disposition. The freedom, sovereignty, and independence of the new states, are therefore not infringed; and if it be admitted that the right to dispose of the soil within its limits be incident to the sovereignty of a state, it is replied, that such right applies only to waste, unoccupied, or vacant land, and that our states cannot claim such a power over lands, which, before their admission into the Union, were held in fee simple by the United States, or by individuals. It is not denied that the title of the United States, as originally acquired, was a good one; that those who purchased from her, lands within the limits of a state, previously to the erection of that state, hold titles equally valid; and that those titles cannot now be modified, narrowed, or destroyed, by any state legislation. Suppose, then, that previous to the admission of any one of the new states into the Union, the



United States had sold to an individual, all her land remaining undisposed of within the limits of the state so about to be admitted, would not that sale have been valid? would not the title of the purchaser of a thousand or a million of tracts, have been as indefeasible as that of the buyer of a single tract? would the admission of the state into the Union, have affected the property of any such purchaser? If these propositions be answered in the manner in which we suppose they must be, it is difficult to perceive why or how the United States, having the privilege to sell or to retain her own undisputed property, should, by electing to hold it, be thereby placed in a worse situation than her grantee would have occupied had her election been different.

It is further urged, that the territory alluded to, was purchased with the treasure of the United States, that it has been protected, surveyed, and brought into market at the expense of the nation, and that by the express stipulations of the cessions from the several states, that territory was set apart "*as a common fund for the use and benefit of*" all the states, "according to their usual respective proportions in the general charge and expenditure." There was, therefore, a consideration given for the lands, and a use specifically reserved; the states subsequently admitted, became parties to this as well as to all other public treaties, compacts, and laws of the Union; and they accepted the territory allotted to them respectively for the exercise of their state sovereignty, subject to its encumbrances.

Other arguments have been used in reference to this subject, which we think it needless to repeat. Some of them are founded on considerations of expediency rather than of right; and many of them appeal to sectional prejudices, and local interests, which we have studiously abstained from bringing into view; preferring to narrow down our abstract into a naked statement of such prominent facts and suggestions, as may draw the attention of the scholar and the statesman to the inquiry, and suggest to him its leading features. We proceed, therefore, to consider,

2. *The policy adopted by the United States in the disposal of the public domain.*

All the lands within each district, are surveyed before any part is offered for sale; being actually divided into *townships* of six miles square, and each of these sub-divided into thirty-six *sections* of one mile square, containing six hundred and forty acres each. All the dividing lines run according to the cardinal points, and cross each other at right angles, except where fractional sections are formed by large streams, or by an Indian boundary line. These sections are again divided into *quarter* and *half-quarter sections*, of which the lines are not actually surveyed, but the corners, boundaries, and contents, are ascertained by fixed rules prescribed by law. This branch of busi-

ness is conducted under two principal surveyors, who appoint their own deputies. The sections in each township are numbered from 1 to 36, the townships are placed in *ranges*, and also numbered. The surveys are founded upon a series of true meridians; the *first principal meridian* is in Ohio, the second in Indiana, the third in Illinois, &c. each forming the base of a series of surveys, of which the lines are made to correspond so that the whole country is at last divided into squares of one mile each, and townships of six miles each, and these sub-divisions arranged with mathematical truth into parallel ranges.

This system is as simple, as it is on several accounts particularly happy. Disputes in relation to boundaries can seldom occur where the dividing lines can be at all times corrected by the cardinal points; where the same line being continued throughout a whole region, is not dependent upon visible marks or corners, but can be readily ascertained at any moment by calculation and measurement; and where one point, being ascertained, furnishes the basis for an indefinite number of surveys around it. Such lines, too, are easily preserved, and not readily forgotten.

A vast deal of accurate and useful information is furnished to the public through the medium of this system. The whole surface of the country is actually surveyed and measured. The courses of rivers and smaller streams are accurately ascertained and measured through all their meanders. Many of the peculiarities of the country are discovered, and its resources pointed out in the course of this minute exploration; and a mass of well authenticated facts are registered at the proper department at Washington, such as the topographer and geographer can find in relation to no other country.

After the land has been surveyed, districts are laid off, in each of which a land office is established, and on a day appointed by the President, the whole of the land is offered at public sale to the highest bidder; but not allowed to be sold below a certain *minimum* price. Such tracts as are not sold at that time, may at any time afterwards be purchased at the *minimum* price, at private sale.

From all sales, one *thirty-sixth* part of the land, being one entire section in each township, is reserved and given in perpetuity for the support of schools in the township; the section No. 16, which is nearly central in each township, is designated for that purpose. In each of the new states and territories, one entire township, containing 23,040 acres, has been reserved and given in perpetuity to the state when formed, for the support of seminaries of learning of the higher class. Five per cent. on the amount of the sales of land within each state, is reserved; three-fifths of which is to be expended by Congress in making roads leading to the state, and two-fifths to be expended by such state

in the encouragement of learning. All salt springs and lead mines are reserved and leased by the government, but many of these have since been given to the states respectively. The lands reserved for schools and seminaries of learning, have never been considered as gratuitous grants to the states receiving them; each of those states having made ample remuneration to the general government. Illinois, for example, agreed that all lands sold by the United States, within that state, should remain exempt from taxation for five years after such sale, and that lands granted for military services, should remain exempt from taxation for three years, if held so long by the patentees. The taxes thus given up by that state, will have amounted, when all the land in her limits shall be sold, to near a million of dollars.

Until recently, the price demanded by the government for its land, was two dollars per acre, of which one fourth was paid at the time of purchase, and the remainder in three annual instalments; a discount of eight per cent. being allowed to the purchaser, if the whole was paid promptly. This arrangement, however liberally intended, was found to be productive of great mischief. The relation of debtor and creditor, can never be safely created between a government and its citizens. If the citizen is creditor, his demands are as exorbitant, as his power to enforce payment is inefficient, and the claim which should be made to the justice, becomes an appeal to the generosity of the debtor. If the government is creditor, the moral obligation to pay is lightly felt, and the legal obligation leniently enforced. The debtor expects indulgence, and makes his contract under that expectation. He enters into an engagement with less circumspection than he would use if dealing with an individual, under the belief that he will not find in the government a rigid creditor; and under the same belief neglects to make any strenuous exertion to comply with his contract. The offering of the public lands for sale, therefore, on a credit, was, as experience showed it to be, unwise. Large purchases were made by individuals, who had not the means of payment. Persons who had only money enough to pay the first instalment on one or more tracts, made their contracts accordingly, disbursing their whole capital in making the prompt payment required at the time of entry, and depending on future contingencies for the power to discharge the other three-fourths of their engagements. This was done, in most cases, without the least intention to defraud, the risk of loss being entirely on the side of the purchaser, and the allurements to make the venture such as few men have sufficient resolution to withstand. A rapid increase in the value of lands was generally anticipated, and many expected to meet their engagements by selling a portion of the land at an enhanced price, and thus securing the portion retained; some were enticed by a de-

sire to secure choice tracts, and others by a belief that they could raise the sums required within the appointed time, by the sale of produce. A few, by industry or by good fortune, realized these anticipations; but a great majority of the purchasers, at the expiration of the term limited for the payment of the last instalment, found their lands subject to forfeiture for non-payment. Instead of rising, the price of land had fallen, in consequence of the vast quantities thrown into market; and the increase in the amount of produce raised, so far exceeded the increase of demand for consumption, that the farmer was unable to realize any considerable profit from that source. Money was scarce, the country was new, without capitalists, moneyed institutions, or manufactures, and with little commerce, and while the sale of lands, and the importation of foreign goods, required to supply the wants of the people, constituted an immense and eternal drain of the circulating medium across the mountains, the industry of the population was not yet brought into action, nor the resources of the country developed to a sufficient extent to afford the means of bringing the money back. It was, in short, a population of buyers. The demand for money induced the establishment of local banks, whose notes were at first eagerly taken, but soon depreciated, having the usual effect of driving better money out of circulation, without substituting any valuable medium in its place. Bank debts were added to land debts.

The whole population trembled upon the brink of ruin; and had the Federal Government proved a rigid creditor, this extensive and beautiful country must have presented a vast scene of desolation. The purchasers of land had become settlers; they had built houses, and opened fields upon the soil, the legal title to which remained in the government. A few could have saved their homes, by the disposal of their other property; the many could not purchase the roof that sheltered them, at any sacrifice which they might have been willing to make. Yet, it is not to be inferred that the people were destitute, or desperately poor; far from it—they were substantial farmers, surrounded with all the means of comfort and happiness—except *money*. To have driven such a people to extremes, would have been ungenerous and fatally unwise, for now that the crisis has passed, we may say without offence or danger, that there is no calculating the extent of the private misery, and the public convulsion, which such a policy would have inevitably produced. The enlightened statesman who at that period presided over the Treasury department, saw, and properly estimated the wants and feelings of that part of the community, together with the relative duty of the government. A system of relief was devised, which, by extending the time of payment, and authorizing purchasers to secure a portion of their lands by relinquishing the remainder to the govern-



ment, has, in the course of eight years, extinguished a large portion of those debts, and will, if judiciously continued, enable the people eventually to discharge the whole.

This subject affords a theme of proud felicitation to the American patriot, as it exhibits the strongest evidence of the permanency of our institutions. It is not easy to imagine a subject so well calculated to exasperate the public mind as this. It is dangerous to threaten a high spirited people with expulsion from their homes, and the law which forfeited the lands of the western people upon the non-performance of their contracts, held out this alternative. But under these appalling circumstances, not a shadow of disaffection was exhibited in the West; the people neither threatened nor murmured, but looked up to their government for relief, with a confidence which remained unshaken to the last. They retained their loyalty and their temper, petitioned Congress in an independent tone, and waited the result with manly firmness. From the debates on this subject in Congress, no one would have guessed the magnitude of the interests at stake, or the powerful and intense feelings of anxiety enlisted in the discussion. The deportment of all the parties was as temperate as the decision was just and judicious.

Upon granting relief to the land purchasers, the credit system was abolished; and lands are now sold by the government at one dollar and twenty-five cents per acre, payable in cash. This plan has had a more wholesome operation; and the only difficulty which now exists, has reference to the price of land. To this, two objections have been made: 1st, that the same price is demanded for all lands, without respect to the endless diversity of value occasioned by the differences of soil and situation: and 2d, that the price is in all cases too high.

That the first is a valid objection, is indisputable; but it is not easy to suggest a remedy less objectionable. To divide the land into classes, varying in their actual value, as well as in price, would perhaps be impracticable. Under such a system, there must be an actual inspection of each separate tract, the cost of which would often exceed the value of the land, and would seldom fall far short of it. The persons appointed to make such valuation must be numerous, and each would have a separate standard of his own, by which to estimate the advantages and disadvantages of soil, climate, position, &c. which the various tracts of land would present. An endless scene of confusion would ensue. There would be diversities of price, without any corresponding diversities of actual value. An imaginary value would be given to one tract, while another would be unreasonably depreciated. The person who wished to purchase would think that an exorbitant price had been attached to the spot selected by him; while the man who had already bought, would

conceive that his own lands were reduced in value by the low estimate affixed to those adjoining him ; some would think that emigration into the neighbourhood was checked by having the lands *under* rated and brought into discredit, while others would imagine that it was prevented by high prices. Above all, to the multitude of agents intrusted with this delicate task, there would be opened a field of speculation so vast, so tempting, and so fraught with injury to the government and to individuals, that no supposed advantages to be derived from such a scheme could compensate for its dangers. Another plan proposed is, to reduce periodically the price of the lands that have been culled. Thus, at the opening of a district, the lands should be sold at one dollar ; after a term of three or five years that price should be reduced to seventy-five cents ; at the expiration of another term, another reduction should occur in the price, and so on. It is supposed that the choice lands would sell during the first term ; that during the second term they would be again culled, and the best of those remaining unsold would be taken at the reduced price ; and that in each successive term, a portion would sell, until the whole should be disposed of at prices somewhat proportionate to the value. The objection made to this plan is, that it would impede the sales of land, by holding out an inducement to persons proposing to purchase to wait from term to term for the reduction of price. We do not think this objection well founded. Such delay on the part of purchasers would occur to a certain extent, but not to an extent to be compared with the advantages anticipated by this change. The farmer who had selected one hundred and sixty acres of choice land, would not for three or five years run the daily risk of losing it, to save forty dollars. The probability therefore is, that although in the first term the sales might be to a very small extent decreased, they would in the second and third terms be greatly swelled, and that on the whole, the lands would be sold more quickly and to better advantage than under the present system.

In support of the opinion that the present price of the public lands is too high, many reasons might be adduced. Admitting the fact, that the Federal Republic had the undisputed title to these lands, it does not follow that she has the right to dispose of them upon her own terms, or that she has a right to prevent their settlement by the imposition of unreasonable terms. Holding them in her national character, they are held to the use of the people of the United States, and for the purpose of being settled and erected into states. With regard to a large portion of this country, the erection of states is a condition express, and with respect to the remainder the same condition is implied. Congress, therefore, is bound to throw the land into market upon reasonable terms ; and while it is her duty not to entice

population from other sections of the Union, it is equally her duty not to retard emigration to this. The national legislature should not be a mercenary vender of property *for gain*. The public land should be sold at its exact value; that is, at the price which the people are *willing* and *able* to give for it. That the present price is higher than the people can afford to give, might be shown without much difficulty. Let us take, for example, the state of Illinois, which is situated in a temperate latitude, has a healthy climate, is surrounded with navigable streams, and has more arable land within its boundaries, than any other state in the Union. It has no manufactories, little trade, few towns, and none of these of the larger class, and but few professional men. The people are agriculturists, all of whom would, if they were able, own one or more tracts of land, and all of whom ought, in good policy, to be encouraged in their desire to possess the soil they till. The whole quantity of land sold in this state, up to the 1st July 1828, was a little over one million of acres, which, divided into tracts of one hundred and sixty acres, will give seven thousand such tracts—we throw off the fractions. The number of votes *actually given* at the election in August in the same year, was nearly seventeen thousand; and supposing that one man in every eighteen did not vote, we may set down the number of persons entitled to suffrage at eighteen thousand. Those who know the habits and character of that people, will agree, that, leaving out the villages and the professional men, nearly all the rest of the voting population are *farmers upon their own account*, and are, or wish to be, freeholders. Supposing, then, that the land sold, had been equally distributed, the number of tracts ought to nearly correspond with the number of voters. Yet the difference is as 7 to 18; and when it is added, that many farmers own more than one quarter section, that there are men of property in the state who own a great many tracts, and that a good many are held by non-residents, it will be seen that less than one-third of the voters are freeholders. Yet, we assert the fact, that the great majority of those who are not freeholders, being two-thirds of this population, are farmers, who reside upon, and cultivate the land of the United States, ready and anxious to purchase if they were able, and with the full intention of purchasing whenever they shall become so. These men are not *squatters*, as they have been ignorantly called. The term *squatter* was applied, in its origin, to persons who settled upon the unimproved lands of individuals in the older states, with the design of acquiring titles by occupancy, or of profiting by defects in legal titles of the right owners. They took possession of the property of other men, with the avowed intention of holding it. The people who settle on public land in the West, violate no right, and intend no injury. There, a man settles on a tract

which he wishes to buy, enhances its value by his improvements, and should he not eventually become the purchaser, leaves it in a better state than he found it, for the reception of another occupant; and there is no instance on record, of any attempt on the part of such persons, to claim the fee simple, or defraud the government.

If the fact be, as we have stated, that there are communities in which two-thirds, being farmers, desire to become freeholders, but are unable to purchase land at the price demanded by the proprietary, ought not the proprietor, *being the government*, to reduce its price? We think it ought; believing as we do, that the government should not *hold up* its land—that it ought not to sell *for a profit*—that the land is held to the use of such as choose to settle it—that the people have a fair claim to it upon the payment of a *reasonable* price—and that a price is *not* reasonable which the people residing on, or near the land, and anxious to purchase, *will not*, or *cannot* give.

Another fact is worthy of attention. Fertile as the soil in the West is in general, there are extensive tracts which at present are unsaleable, and of no value. These are, immense prairies, destitute of timber and water—river bottoms, subject to inundation—and sterile tracts. In the state to which we have just alluded, and in some others, there are vast regions in which the open prairie is the predominating surface. The soil is generally fine; and water is found at a short distance below the surface; but timber is indispensable for fuel, for fencing, and for building, and without it these lands cannot be settled. But these prairies are annually decreasing in extent. Wherever settlements are made on their margins, and large herds of cattle put to graze upon them, the prairie grass is destroyed by being trampled down and closely eaten; the fires which sweep over these wilds in the autumn, being thus deprived of fuel, are kept off, and the young timber begins to grow. Extensive tracts of country, which sixteen years ago were open prairie, destitute of tree or shrub, are now covered with timber, which is beginning to be fit for use. This result is only produced, however, in the neighbourhood of thick settlements. Would it not be wise to accelerate such a process by artificial means, and to offer inducements which might even tempt settlers to venture into the open prairie, and to propagate timber by planting? The inundated river bottoms are only valuable for their timber, which is often fine, but the lands are rarely purchased on account of that single advantage, as they are generally distant from the arable prairie lands. The soil is frequently excellent, and sometimes very choice, but it will not sell until the country becomes densely settled, and a sufficient surplus wealth exists, to enable the inhabitant to embank and reclaim it. These bottoms are



not only valueless in themselves, but by their unhealthiness contribute to reduce the value of the adjacent lands. The climate of this region, the soil, the water, and the conformation of the country, are salubrious; the causes which produced bilious and febrile diseases, formerly, are mostly removed in all the dense settlements; the river bottoms alone, and the surrounding country, remaining a melancholy exception to the general and rapid improvement in this particular. If the government would give away such tracts, to any who would reclaim them, it would gain in the enhanced value of the adjacent lands, and the inhabitants be incalculably benefited in the removal of serious nuisances. As to the other class of unsaleable lands, the sterile—it is to be remarked, that a large portion of it is poor only in comparison with the fine lands of this region. Things which are offered for sale, are valued by comparison with other things of the same kind, and in reference to the eagerness of one party to sell, and of the other to buy. Thus valued, this land is worth nothing. No man will have it at the price demanded, when he can have better land for the same money. By comparison with other property of the same kind, it sinks into utter nothingness; it cannot acquire an adventitious value, from the eagerness to buy of a purchaser who has a boundless region before him, and it will only be brought into market by the anxiety of the owner of it, evinced in a reduction of the price so liberal as to tempt the cupidity of the buyer.

Another view of this question is not unworthy of consideration. Referring again, for example, to the state of Illinois, it will be seen that this state contains a little over thirty-five millions of acres of land, and that thirty millions of acres remain unsold in the hands of the United States; the balance of five millions including the whole amount of sales and grants, whether to the state or to individuals. The people of Illinois own one-seventh of the whole quantity, and the United States the other six-sevenths; yet the people of that state alone defray the expenses of their own government, while its benefits are enjoyed by the general government, to an extent, in some degree, proportional to the size of their domain. Every new county that is established, every court-house that is built, every road that is opened, every bridge that is erected, enhances the value of real estate; and of the land thus enhanced in value, the United States own six acres where one acre is owned by the state, or by the individuals who pay for the making of such public improvements. That the general government is daily receiving substantial benefits, resulting from the expenditure of the money and labour of the Western people, is evident; and it is worthy of inquiry, whether it be not bound, in justice, to discharge a debt thus created, and what should be the extent and character

of such remuneration. It is said that Congress has been wearied out by appeals to its generosity, on the part of the Western people: Is it not probable, that those appeals have rather been made to the *justice* of that body, and that there has been, in fact, an interchange of benefits, which have been mutually advantageous? The inquiry lies within a narrow compass. In all the Western states, (Kentucky excepted,) the general government owns land; to none of those states does it pay taxes. It has its ample share of all the benefits resulting from the local governments: the civil protection afforded by the latter, and the public improvements made by them, invite population, and by converting a wilderness into a civilized country, render those lands saleable, which otherwise would remain unproductive. Does not this state of things impose an obligation on the Union to aid in the carrying on of that process, by which, as the largest proprietary, it is the greatest gainer? And if the Western people ask for the discharge of that obligation by a reduction in the price of the lands sold to them, is not this a fair claim?

If we had room, we would be glad to speak of the lands owned by the Indians, beyond the limits of the several states and territories, and to inquire, whether it is not time to fix some boundary beyond which the white population shall not pass. Are the red people to be for ever driven to the west? Is their total annihilation solemnly decreed? We trust not. We think that a period has arrived, when a pause might be advantageously made in the extension of our frontier. In the States and Territories already organized, there is ample room for any increase of population that can be anticipated for a century to come; and while those states would rapidly improve under such an arrangement, a happy change might be produced in the condition of the Indian tribes, by suffering them to remain stationary long enough to acquire local attachments, and encouraging them to make permanent improvements, and adopt civil institutions.

Two propositions have emanated from the Atlantic states, which we shall briefly notice. The first was an application to Congress to make donations of land for the support of public schools, to all the states who have not received land from the government for that object, founded on the allegation, that all the new states had received such grants. The application was unadvised, and promptly refused. The fact is, as we have shown, that the school lands of the Western states were purchased, and the equivalents given for them ample. The other proposal was, to distribute the nett proceeds of the sales of the public lands among the states respectively, in proportion to their population. This subject was referred to a committee of the lower house, the title of whose report we have placed at the head of this article; it embraces a valuable collection of facts

and documents, of the most prominent of which we have availed ourselves. That committee adopts the conclusion, that the title of the United States to the public domain is indisputable—that the proceeds of the sale of that domain are pledged to the discharge of the public debt of the Union—and that upon the payment of that debt, which is nearly extinguished, the nett proceeds of the sales ought to be annually distributed among the states.

We do not admit that this subject is one of local character, or that it ought ever to be agitated with a view to sectional interests or prejudices. If the Western states are ambitious to gain population and power, that population will come from the older states, and the power be exercised over those who have heretofore held it. We cannot believe that power, thus derived and exercised, would be abused. The new and the old states are connected by the ties of blood, language, religion, patriotism, and interest; and are too closely united to be separated by any imaginary distinction of character. In reviewing the whole ground which we have passed over, it is gratifying to observe the enlarged views, and the dignified temper, which have pervaded the whole policy of our government, and of the several states, in relation to the subject.

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ART. II.—*The Arabian Nights Entertainments, carefully revised, and occasionally corrected from the Arabic. To which is added a Selection of New Tales, now first translated from the Arabic Originals. Also, an Introduction and Notes, illustrative of the Religion, Manners, and Customs of the Mohammedans.* By JONATHAN SCOTT, LL. D., late Oriental Professor of the Royal Military and East India Colleges, &c. &c. In 6 vols.

TRAVELLERS through Asiatic countries relate the wonderful effects produced on the inhabitants by the recital of tales. Even the least civilized Arabs, after toiling all day in the heat of a torrid sun, forget their sufferings as they gather round some one, whose memory or imagination supplies him with wild legends of former ages. This passion for romance, is found equally in the desert and in the city; beneath the solitary tent, pitched on an island of verdure in a sea of sand, and amidst the splendid minarets, and cool shaded gardens of Damascus, or Isfahan. The delight produced in oriental minds by these narrations, arises partly from their literary merit, but still more from the character of the people. Without doubting that many of the

most distinguished Eastern tales, when they flow from the rapid lips of an Arab story-teller, are invested with eloquence and poetry but faintly shadowed forth in our translations, we notwithstanding feel assured, that the causes of their celebrity are to be found, rather in the constitutional excitability of the auditors, than in the surpassing genius of the author. It is not an improper incredulity, if, in a degree, we disbelieve the glowing terms in which some Europeans, deeply skilled in Oriental languages, have borne witness to the delicate beauty, the sublimity, or the power, of Arabic, Persic, and Hindustanee compositions. The pride of having subjected a province of literature, to which many of their learned associates were strangers, would insensibly lead them to overrate their acquisitions. Add to this, that many of them read these works, or heard them recited, in the country where the scenes are laid, surrounded by the customs they describe. Comparing them with the relics of Greek and Roman literature, they were naturally more impressed with the force of writings describing what they saw, than with those which referred to objects, distant in time and place. Yet it is certain that Asiatic literature possesses great and peculiar merit; and is worthy of more attention than the literati of Europe or America have hitherto paid to it. We trust that it will not be an altogether useless exercise, if we make a few remarks on one of the most celebrated of all the Eastern works, and on some portions of the literature, character, and religion, of the people to whom it belongs.

The "Arabian Nights Entertainments" are, and deserve to be, better known and appreciated, than any other Asiatic book of fiction. The general character of these tales is, that they are well conceived in their outlines, deeply interesting in their details, and supported throughout. They exhibit the state of society as it existed where they were composed, and there is reason to believe that, in this respect, they are very faithful; as also in their delineation of the religion, laws, superstitions, science, and philosophy of the times. As regards history and geography, they are occasionally inaccurate. They are rich in imagination, but this is not so very large an ingredient in their composition as is generally supposed. Besides these characteristics, belonging to the texture of the work, there are adventitious circumstances which increase its value. Many of the tales allude frequently to Haroun al Rashid, and his reputation lends interest to the record of his habits. The same is the case with his great minister, Giaffer, of whom they often speak, as also of other individuals of the princely race of the Barmecides. The allusion to these persons is incontestable proof that the Arabian Nights were written at least as late as the year 800; and it is argued by Mr. Hole, in his interesting volume on the



voyages of Sindbad the Sailor, that they could not have been written in modern times, otherwise they would have noticed the visit of Gama and Albuquerque to Asia, about the 15th century, and the fire arms, or other European inventions, introduced by them.

It is probable that the tales were written at various times and by different authors, for they are very unequally executed. The best, being two hundred and eighty nights, out of the thousand and one, were translated into French by M. Galland; they were afterwards translated from French into English, and since from the Arabic into English. These two hundred and eighty nights, seem to have been the original work, of which the remaining eight hundred and twenty-one are continuations by later hands. The edition, of which the title is prefixed to this article, contains forty-one additional tales, translated by Dr. Scott. We shall have something to say hereafter upon the comparative merits of the earlier set of tales, and this latter collection, which was translated from the Arabic manuscripts of Edward Wortley Montague, Esq.

Whatever doubts might once have existed, it is now unquestioned that the Arabian Nights are genuine Arabic productions. They are received as authentic throughout the East; though the copies do not seem to be very numerous there. In his notes, Dr. Scott refers to a letter published by Dr. Patrick Russell in the Gentleman's Magazine for February, 1799, in which it is said that the Arabian Nights is a scarce book in Aleppo. After much inquiry, Dr. Russell could find only two volumes containing two or three hundred nights. There are several Arabic copies in the European libraries, some of which are probably transcripts made in Europe.

There is a mode of considering the merits and demerits of a literary work, by analyzing it and presenting its disjointed members for separate examination until the whole is understood. We will not pursue this course at present, because there would never be an end to our labours if we attempted the minute examination of a work so extensive and so rich in incident and information as the Arabian Nights; besides, we would be forced to repeat the particulars of tales which every one has read. A better plan will be to wander rapidly over the work, alighting on the characteristics most deserving of attention, and passing by the rest to consider these, together with the general character of the Arabs and their literature.

We are told that the Arabian Nights are a combination of almost every species of writing, but that most of the morality, poetry, and eloquence, of the original, has been destroyed by the unskilful touch of the English and French translators. Enough has been given to show the nature of what is omitted. No one

can properly enter into their spirit, or appreciate their value, except those who are conversant with Oriental studies; because the entire literature of a nation must shine on each distinct part, before that part can be entirely understood. Without, however, any knowledge of the Arabic language, information may be derived from the works of learned Europeans, sufficient to form a general conception on the subject.

The literature of Arabia naturally falls within two classes; that preceding the reign of al Mansur in the middle of the eighth century; and that which has been produced since his era. During the reign of the Ham-yaric dynasty, who ruled in Yemen almost from the days of Ishmael to those of Mohammed, there were many poems and other works composed by native authors. If we except two suspicious poems said to have been found "on some fragments of ruined edifices in Hadramut near Aden," and some still more dubious inscriptions on the sides of mountains and caverns, these productions have entirely perished. There is, extant, poetry, said to have been written after the termination of the Ham-yaric dominion, and previous to the time of Mohammed. When Mohammed established his empire and faith, his successors were for several generations exclusively employed in settling by the sword, their foreign or domestic disputes, pouring out the blood either of Infidels or of Islam. A blight of barbarism rested then on Europe, as well as Asia, and Arabia did not seem likely to be a land of intellectual fertility, whilst all around was desolation. Yet, when al Mansur, Haroun al Rashid, and a few other Caliphs, cast in the same mould, attained the imperial power, all was altered. Science, in its varieties, Poetry, History, and Philosophy, came into being. After they were diffused through the illustrious regions of their new existence, they spread through Europe, where, as we know, they still remain. There is reason to believe, that the same spirit of literature which originally prevailed in Arabia, was infused into its subsequent poetry and romance. Many traits in the writings of the later Arabs, are precisely those which *ought* to have marked the Ham-yaric poems. However this may be, it will not be irrelevant to trace the peculiarities of Saracenic literature to their first visible causes. By considering the effect of these causes on the human mind, we may form some probable idea of the nature of the poetry which first sprung up under their influence.

That which chiefly contributed to form the character of the Arabians, was their national solitude. Enclosed by deserts and oceans, they had no chance of holding intercourse with foreigners, other than that which a limited commerce in drugs, gold, precious stones, and gums, occasioned. The interior, as well as the northern and north-eastern confines of the country, is comprised in the vast extent of sandy table land, called by the Arabs

"Nedjed," but familiarly known to us as "the Deserts of Arabia." The Bedoweens, or inhabitants of this cheerless region, are a race of blood-thirsty, vigilant, but in many respects generous, robbers. They are constantly in arms, impelled by the burning jealousies which spring up whenever a half barbarous people are divided into petty sovereignties. For ages, they have so infested the desert, that there can be little communication in that direction with Syria or Persia. Similar difficulties exist in the mountainous province of Hejaz, which answers to the Arabia Petraea of the ancients. Yemen, or Arabia Felix, in the west, and Oman in the south and east, never became maritime powers; though they have for a long while possessed some shipping. The perils of the ocean were esteemed equal to those of the desert, and there was little temptation to risk them, except during the period when Arabia was the resting place for the commerce between Europe and India. It is thus that the Arabs are, and always have been, an isolated people.

Left to the undisturbed workings of their hearts, their characters are such as might be expected. As a nation they are stubborn both in truth and error. Confined from birth till death, to the consideration of a few objects, they never reach that tractable state of feeling, which extensive knowledge of the world can alone produce. This bigotry, when called into action, makes them ardent and even enthusiastic in their thoughts and deeds. The hot climate accelerates the motion of their blood and animal spirits. Owing to several causes, the heat in Hejaz and Yemen is not of that overpowering intensity, which, as in India and Central Africa, melts away the energies of man. We know not how it is, that in countries of a certain warmth there is almost always a fondness for intellectual pursuits; but the Arabs are one of the evidences that might be cited to prove the fact. Owing at least in some measure to the influence of climate, there has always been in Arabia a fondness for exhibitions of wit, poetry, and extempore eloquence. Their separation from other nations has heightened this character, and given it permanence.

Avarice is not a national vice, because, being destitute of commerce, they have no opportunity of accumulating money. The general insecurity of life and property also, tends to make them generous; by making wealth transitory, it lessens its value.

Such has for a long time been the nature of the Arabs, and, since national literature is but the embodying of national character, it is not improbable that these qualities were impressed on most of the earlier works in prose and poetry. Before leaving this subject of the Arabic character, we will give the testimony of one who had an excellent opportunity of studying it; we mean Sir William Jones. In a discourse delivered before the

Asiatic Society, at Calcutta, on the 15th February, 1787, he says—

“Men will always differ in their ideas of civilization, each measuring it by the habits and prejudices of his own country; but if courtesy and urbanity, a love of poetry and eloquence, and the practice of exalted virtue, be a juster measure of perfect society, we have certain proof that the people of Arabia, both on plains and in cities, in republican and monarchical states, were eminently civilized for many ages before their conquest of Persia.”\*

This sketch is probably too favourable, for Sir William was strongly inclined towards the Arabs.

Keeping in mind that we are endeavouring to conjecture the nature of the lost Arabic poetry which preceded Mohammed, we will consider some external circumstances by which it must have been influenced. Until the reign of Haroun al Rashid, neither the literature of Greece and Rome, nor any idea of philosophy made their way to the Arabians; although missionaries had carried to them some of the principles of Christianity. Before that time, natural objects were alone presented to them. Even in the towns of Yemen, they were a simple and pastoral race. Their horses and camels were their wealth, and on these their ideas seem to have chiefly rested. Without books, except a very few, which were probably confined to the priests and princes, they were forced to indulge their vivid temperament by making keen observations on every thing which came within the reach of their senses; and upon those events which the traditions of their ancestors had preserved. If we may be permitted to form an idea of the old Kufic and Ham-yaric poetry, reasoning from the few remaining specimens, as well as from what we know of the former state of the country, and of its modern literature, we would describe it thus. It referred almost entirely to the pastoral pursuits and patriarchal government of the people; sometimes celebrating the virtues or pedigree of a favourite breed of horses, and sometimes praising the family of the prince. Perhaps there were, occasionally, such simple reflections on human life and manners, as would easily occur to a rude people. The illustrations were drawn entirely from flowers, trees, and animals; from the timid antelope, the dark eyed gazelle, the swift limbs of their coursers, or the patient endurance of the camel. Orientalists say, that the versification and rhyme of the old Arabic poetry, were very irregular. In Yemen, which was the most civilized part of Arabia, *love*, sometimes, was the theme of the rustic poets. At the time of Mohammed, the people of Yemen and Hejaz had become comparatively sentimental, inso-much that it was usual to affix to the walls of the Caaba, or temple of Mecca, poems “on the triumphs of Arabian gallantry, and the praises of Grecian wine.” But we are not to conclude

\* Vide Asiatic Researches, vol. ii. p. 3.



from this, that refinement had then made much progress; or that they had any thing like the amatory and festal odes of Anacreon and Horace.

We indulge in these conjectures on the ancient Arabic poetry, because we think that they are correct. They are consistent with the opinions of those, who, from their erudition, had the best right to judge. It is worth while to form even an unsubstantial image, if it at all resembles the reality. The cloudy banks on the verge of the ocean, do not the less convey a correct impression of the appearance of distant land, because they are mere vapour; and our sketch of the Kufic and Ham-yaric poetry may be accurate, though it is in part ideal.

But our principal motive is, that we wish to consider by themselves, those characteristics which form the basis of Saracenic poetry, dividing them from all that was added after the invasion of Asia. As the original nature of the Arabs remained undestroyed, though considerably changed, after they left the peninsula, we thought it best to collect all that at first could have acted on their literature, and then to pass on to a separate examination of the new attributes it acquired; first to consider the wild flower as it grew in the desert, and then mark how it was varied when transplanted to the parterre.

The Arabs, after the conquest of Persia and Syria, were affluent in all the materials of literature. They became conversant with a multitude of things heretofore but partially known to them. It was not only that fresh objects were offered to their view, but a new world of thought and feelings was laid open. Persia was not at that time the impoverished country which Saracen despotism has since made her. A wilderness of rose trees then bloomed around Shiraz, and the lilies of Susa had not withered from neglect of cultivation. All the august buildings—the monuments of the Assyrian, Selucidæ, or Arsacidæ princes, remained in their pristine grandeur, or with the still more interesting aspect of ruins. Imperial palaces and flourishing cities afforded a strong contrast to the loneliness of the desert, and the simplicity of the towns of Yemen. The broken columns of Chilmimar, and the city of the Sun, caused different emotions from the sandy waste of Nedjed, or the granite mountains of Hejaz; for the eloquent silence of the first brought to mind the departed nations who had flourished there, whilst the others spoke of nothing except their own sublimity, unchanged since the creation. When the Arabians intermingled with the inhabitants of the conquered countries, their ideas were tinged with the character of the vanquished. They never altered their religion; to the last they exterminated idolaters and worshippers of Fire; but their manners were changed. Hardihood was transformed into voluptuousness, simplicity into luxury, rudeness into refine-

ment. Their literature changed with themselves. Graceful expression, and profusion of ornament, became predominant; and their taste was purified by the influence of the ancient Greek writers, who, about this time, became known to the Saracens, and to whom we will, for a while, turn our attention.

Abu Giafer al Mansur, the second caliph of the house of Abbas, ascended the throne of the Prophet in the 137th year of the Hegira, which corresponds to the year 754 of the Christian era. The royal race of the Ommyyah, or Ommiades, had been dethroned by his brother, but still continued in arms, so that his reign was troubled, and he found little opportunity to gratify his fondness for literature. Desirous of adorning his empire, he founded on the banks of the Tigris the memorable city of Bagdat, so called, according to the Persian writers, from the idol "Bagh," to whom a small temple had been erected by a wife of Nushirvan, on the spot where the city afterwards stood. When this capital was completed, the caliph endeavoured to allure the learned men of his empire, such as they were, to his court, and thus gave the first impulse to the Saracen literature. His immediate successors were not of the same stamp as himself, and for a while the dawn in the East was obscured. Haroun, surnamed al Rashid or the Righteous, the grandson of al Mansur, emulated the example of his ancestor, and as is well known became a distinguished patron of letters. He encouraged the diffusion of knowledge, and made great efforts to collect the writings of Greece and Rome. But it was not until the auspicious reign of al Mamon, the son of Haroun al Rashid, that all the darkness which encircled the throne of Science was scattered. He, like his predecessors, was forced to contend with foreign and domestic enemies; but this did not prevent him from searching over Asia and Egypt, expending vast sums for works in the Syriac, Hebrew, Chaldee, Greek, and Latin languages. He extended his favour to all men of learning and talent, without respect to their religion or country, and was himself a proficient in letters. Amongst the works rescued from oblivion were those of Aristotle and Galen. These immediately became the landmarks of the Arabs in all their investigations, either religious, philosophical, or scientific. The dialectics of Aristotle were constantly studied by the doctors of Mohammedan theology. Their minds thus acquired an acuteness which would be inconceivable, did we not know that in after times the same effect was produced by the same cause, on the philosophers of Europe whose works still survive, the Schoolmen of the middle ages. The writings of Galen were acceptable to the Arabs, because they always had a passion for medical studies, in which they followed this great Greek physician as implicitly as they did Aristotle in his departments of logic and metaphysics. Philosophy was neither so

beautiful, nor so rational, on the borders of the Tigris, as when she dwelt in the Lyceum; but she was certainly much more prolific. The metaphysical expositions and logical disputations on the Koran, and the treatises of medicine written by the Arabs since the works of Aristotle and Galen were acquired, are innumerable. These form the great mass of the prose literature of the Saracens, and to make any other than a very general mention of them would be a weary task; we will therefore dismiss them, only adding that Avicenna and Averrhoes obtained a colossal reputation in this species of writing. The Arab histories are prolix and minute, but generally not tedious, because of their lively style and interesting anecdotes:\* these also are too numerous to receive more than a hasty notice. We will therefore consider the Arabic poetry, and those romances which combine both prose and poetry.

All our future remarks on Arabic literature apply equally to that of Persia, Turkey, Syria, Egypt, Mauritania, and Tartary; for the writers of these countries differ in style amongst themselves no otherwise than would have been the case had all belonged to the same nation. They frequently wrote their finest productions in the Arabic language, and they adhered closely to those models which arose among the Arabs when they settled in Persia. Sir William Jones, whose luminous mind cast its lustre over both Europe and Asia; and who as a lawyer, a writer, a scholar, and a man of virtue, has left an immortal reputation; says on this subject, that "the other Mohammedans have done little more than imitate the style and adopt the expressions of the Arabians." So far as we can judge from translations, this remark is literally true. We will therefore without hesitation cite Turkish or Persic poetry as illustrating the peculiarities of the Arabic.

When the Saracens were familiar with the Greek authors, their poems were written in regular measure. It is a great mistake to think, as many do, that Oriental poetry is entirely filled with unnatural conceits and bombastic expressions. Undoubtedly amongst the hundreds, not to say thousands, of Eastern poets, there are many who write in every possible variety of bad taste; but the same is the case through the world. There are numerous Saracen poems which both in thought and expression are correct and delicate. Even where the style is most efflorescent, propriety is often kept in view; but yet it cannot be denied that their prevailing fault is the overflow of ornament. The two great epic poets, Firdusi, and Saadi, and the lyric Hafiz, would,

\* Ockley's History of the Saracens, and the account of the Arabs in the 19th, 20th, and 21st volumes of the "Universal History," will give a tolerable idea of the style of the Arab historians. The former is an imitation of the Arab writers, the latter a digested translation from them.

like the Histories and Polemics, require too much of our space to receive justice: they therefore must also be omitted. The smaller pieces, which are beyond computation, can soon be disposed of; they are mostly sonnets, epigrams, elegies, songs, and allegories, expressive either of the praise or censure of great men, of love for women, or of the melancholy of the poet's heart. Distinguished men in Persia and Turkey are never assailed until they have fallen from power, and are seldom praised except whilst they retain it. The political troubles of these countries in some measure account for the sadness of much of the poetry. Men of genius were constantly liable to have their sensibilities wounded by the destruction of benefactors and friends occasioned by each of the frequent revolutions. The feelings of timid or disappointed love, and the inborn melancholy of human nature, were the other sources of their poetic sadness. Considering the domestic manners of the Saracens, it is not easy to discover whence they derived the gallantry and delicate affection which are prevalent in many of their writings. The odes of Sappho and Anacreon may have had some influence, and it must be supposed that even their national custom of secluding the women in harems, leaving them almost uneducated, could not prevent the passion of love from assuming its purest form in the bosoms of the more intellectual individuals. We subjoin a few specimens of Saracenic poetry, that our readers may judge of it for themselves.

The first is a prose translation by Sir William Jones of an Ode on the Spring, by Mesihi, a very distinguished poet, who flourished at Constantinople during the reign of Soliman II., or the Law-giver. It is written in verses of four lines each, in a measure rather longer than our heroic verse. The three first lines of each verse rhyme with each other, and the last line is the same in all the verses.

#### "ON THE SPRING."

"Thou hearest the tale of the nightingale, 'that the vernal season approaches.' The spring has spread a bower of joy in every grove, where the almond tree sheds its silver blossoms. Be cheerful; be full of mirth; for the Spring passes soon away: it will not last.

"The groves and hills are again adorned with all sorts of flowers: a pavilion of roses, as the seat of pleasure, is raised in the garden. Who knows which of us will be alive when the fair season ends? Be cheerful, &c.

"The edge of the bower is filled with the light of Ahmed. Among the plants the fortunate tulips represent his companions. Come, O people of Mohammed, this is the season of merriment. Be cheerful, &c.

"Again the dew glitters on the leaves of the lily, like the water of a bright scymetar. The dew drops fall through the air on the garden of roses. Listen to me, listen to me, if thou desirest to be delighted. Be cheerful, &c.

"The roses and tulips are like the bright cheeks of beautiful maids, in whose



ears the pearls hang like drops of dew. Deceive not thyself by thinking that these charms will have a long duration. Be cheerful, &c.

"Tulips, roses, and anemonies, appear in the gardens: the showers and the sun-beams, like sharp lancets, tinge the banks with the colour of blood. Spend this day agreeably with thy friends like a prudent man. Be cheerful, &c.

"The time is passed in which the plants were sick, and the rosebud hung its thoughtful head on its bosom. The season comes in which mountains and rocks are covered with tulips. Be cheerful, &c.

"Each morning the clouds shed gems over the rose gardens: the breath of the gale is full of Tartarian musk. Be not neglectful of thy duty through too great love of the world. Be cheerful, &c.

"The sweetness of the bower has made the air so fragrant, that the dew before it falls is changed into rose water. The sky spreads a pavilion of bright clouds over the garden. Be cheerful, &c.

"Whosoever thou art, know that the black gusts of autumn had seized the garden; but the king of the world again appears, dispensing justice to all. In his reign, the happy cup-bearer desired and obtained the flowing wine. Be cheerful, &c.

"By these strains I hoped to celebrate this delightful valley: may they be a memorial to its inhabitants, and remind them of this assembly, and these fair maids! Thou art a nightingale with a sweet voice, O Mesihi, when thou walkest with the damsels whose cheeks are like roses. Be cheerful, be full of mirth; for the spring passes soon away: it will not last."

Prose translations of poetry must necessarily fall short of the original, since they lose many beauties, and do not supply the loss with any fresh ornament; but they convey the most accurate idea of the sentiment. We will add two translations, in verse, of Arabic poetry. They are by the pen of the late Professor Carlyle, of the University of Cambridge, a learned and able man. The first is an anacreontic, by Abd Absalam Ben Ragban, of whom Professor Carlyle says, "he was more remarkable for abilities than morality."

*"To a Female Cup-bearer."*

1.

"Come Leila, fill the goblet up,  
Reach round the rosy wine,  
Think not that we will take the cup  
From any hand but thine.

2.

"A draught like this, 'twere vain to seek,  
No grape can such supply;  
It steals its tint from Leila's cheek,  
Its brightness from her eye."

The following was written by Ebn Alrumi, a Syrian by birth; he died in the year of the Hegira 283. The first verse expresses an idea, afterwards borrowed by Lord Byron, in his piece "I saw thee weep." But the Arabic is the finer of the two.

*"To a Lady Weeping."*

1.

"When I beheld thy blue eye shine  
Through the bright drop that pity drew,

I saw beneath those tears of thine  
A blue eyed violet bathed in dew.

2.

"The violet ever scents the gale,  
Its hues adorn the fairest wreath,  
But sweetest through a dewy veil  
Its colours glow, its odours breathe.

3.

"And thus thy charms in brightness rise—  
When wit and pleasure round thee play,  
When mirth sits smiling in thine eyes,  
Who but *admires* their sprightly ray?  
But when through pity's flood they gleam,  
Who but must *love* their softened beam."

We think that enough has been quoted to bear out all that we have said in praise of Arabic poetry, as well as to give an idea of the best. For additional specimens, we refer our readers to the work of Professor Carlyle.\* We would especially recommend to them the "Elegy," by Lebid Ben Rabi'at Alamar'y: it is too long to be inserted here, but it is exceedingly beautiful, and is interesting also, because it belongs to the earlier class of Arabic poetry, the author being contemporary with Mohammed. This Elegy is well styled, by the translator, "*The Arabian Deserted Village.*"

Before concluding this general sketch of Arabic literature, we will return to the prose works to remark, that the Saracens, though very acute, never exhibit profound thought. This is probably owing to their religion, and to their form of government. Mohammedanism is the extreme of bigotry. In many respects it exhibits much ingenuity in its founder, but in none more than the art with which all studies, foreign to itself, are proscribed; for this is the surest guarantee of its continuance. Though this restriction was broken by the learned Arabians of the later times, it yet served to limit their inquiries. Christianity offers many topics, which are sufficiently simple for practical purposes, but which exhaust the strongest intellect when it strives to reveal their extent. There is nothing of this kind in the Koran, or if there is, the Mohammedan doctors have not discovered it; for they have no question more exalted, than whether the Koran is, or is not, eternal? This is one of the main sources of contention between the two great sects of the Sonnites and Sheeites. The doctrines which would really require strength either to support or disaffirm, such as those of providence, predestination, the nature of the soul, the origin of evil, &c. are all settled by a few dogmatic sentences of the Koran. In Persia, religious bigotry has a looser hold on the people than in the rest

\* "Specimens of Arabian Poetry, from the earliest time to the extinction of the Khaliphah, with some account of the Authors, by J. D. Carlyle, &c. &c." 1 vol. quarto.

of Islam: but a greater political despotism takes its place, and by eradicating the spirit of honourable ambition, equally checks all profound learning. The frequency of invasions and rebellions, in all the Mohammedan countries, has been very uncongenial to the growth of those libraries and colleges which must exist before men can amass large stores of erudition. Science and natural philosophy could not be pursued except at a great disadvantage, not only from the causes just stated, but also because drawings, or other representations of living beings, are prohibited to the Moslem. It is the popular belief of the Arabs, and we think that it is authorized by the Koran, that whoever draws a bird, or animal, will be asked in the day of judgment to give it a soul, and when he is unable to obey, he will be severely punished. Neither despotism nor bigotry has restrained the effusions of poetry, wit, and fiction, and, as is mentioned above, they are not unfavourable to acute and specious argument.

Popular eloquence of all kinds, except that displayed in conversation and extempore romances, is unknown to the Mohammedans. Without legislative bodies, courts of law, other than those of judges who decide immediately on hearing the facts, or assemblies of the people, they have no chance for acquiring or displaying oratory. If a man of talents was to harangue, openly, on any subject of public interest, he would risk being impaled or beheaded, before he could a second time trouble the jealousy of the government.

The prevailing manners and domestic habits of the Saracens may be learnt with the utmost minuteness from the books at present most immediately under our inspection, the *Arabian Nights Entertainments*: and we know not how we can more completely lead our readers to a correct view of these subjects, than by advising them to become conversant with those volumes, if they are not so already.

There is a lively and erudite volume, before alluded to, written by Mr. Hole, on the story of Sinbad the Sailor. It points out how far the author of that fiction has drawn his materials from the Greek writers, or from the opinions generally entertained through the East. The mode he pursues is, to select each of the most striking passages, especially such as seem to evince the greatest power of fancy, and to compare them with parallel passages from grave Greek historians and philosophers, or from books of travels, nearly contemporary with the *Arabian Nights*. The authors whom he chiefly cites, are Pliny, Diodorus Siculus, Elian, Marco Polo, Sir Thomas Herbert, and Sir John Mandeville. It is surprising what an air of reality is given to the voyages, by bringing them into comparison with these authorities. Mr. Hole asserts that the same might be done with all the other tales. Many of the extraordinary fish, birds, and serpents, which

Sinbad describes, are not very dissimilar to some actually existing in the Indian seas and climates. The valley of diamonds, surrounded by inaccessible rocks, mentioned in the second voyage, was generally believed in, through the East, before the *Arabian Nights* were written. Respectable Oriental writers describe, in the same terms as Sinbad, the mode of obtaining the precious gems, by throwing meat down the precipices, which is carried up by eagles, with diamonds adhering. The old man of the sea, with a skin like a cow, who made signs to be taken on Sinbad's shoulders, and when placed there, remains with an intention of strangling him, does not differ much from the apes, or orang-outangs, which, some Eastern writers say, throw themselves on men's necks, and suffocate them. As respects the Greek authors, we may notice the following similarities. The story of Polyphemus devouring the followers of Ulysses, in Homer's *Odyssey*, is almost exactly the same as that of the negro who ate up the companions of Sinbad. Like Ulysses, they burn out the giant's one eye, and his friends hurl rocks at them, as did the Cyclop at the Ithacan, when they escape to sea. In the fourth voyage, when Sinbad is buried alive with his dead wife, he leaves the cavern, used as a sepulchre, precisely as Aristomenes, the Messenian general, is said to have left the cave, into which he and his soldiers were cast by the Lacedemonians. Aristomenes and Sinbad both see an animal prowling among the bodies; they follow him, and he leads them to a concealed avenue, through which they pass. Diodorus Siculus, in a passage cited by Mr. Hole, asserts that the island of Taprobane, or Ceylon, is directly under the equinoctial line, and that the days and nights there are always twelve hours each. Ptolemy, the geographer, says the same. Sinbad, speaking of this island under its Asiatic name of Serendib, repeats nearly the very words of Diodorus. The assertion is, however, incorrect: the lowest point of Ceylon is more than a hundred leagues north of the equator; and there is the perceptible difference of nearly two hours between the longest and shortest day. Besides these coincidences, and many others noticed by Mr. Hole, there are some equally striking in the tales newly translated by Dr. Scott; as in the story of the "Good Vizier," where the vizier augured that some great misfortune would befall him, because he had lived in a course of unbroken prosperity. One evening he accidentally dropped an emerald coffee cup of inestimable value into the sea, which flowed beneath a gallery of his palace. In pointing out to a diver the spot where it had fallen, an equally precious diamond ring slipped from his finger. The diver plunged into the waves, and soon brought the emerald cup, with the ring, which had lodged in it. That night the Vizier was degraded, and imprisoned in a dungeon. The incidents, and still more the sentiments, of this story, resemble



very closely the well known historical account given by Herodotus, of Polycrates, the tyrant of Samos. The only difference is, that Polycrates lost an emerald ring, instead of an emerald cup and diamond ring; he dropped it voluntarily into the sea, and it was restored by a fish, who swallowed it and was caught. But the substance of both stories is the same. The idea of the female genii of the "Flying Islands," in the story of Mazin of Chorassan, is analogous to that which the Grecians had of the Amazons. All this shows the influence which the Greek writers had on Arabic literature, and how well the Arabian Nights have represented the general national belief.

Throughout the Arabian Nights there are scattered many allusions to the religion and superstitions of the Saracens. These offer national characteristics, not the least important to those who have pleasure in considering the sources from whence the popular ideas of the West are lineally descended. The Eastern fables passed into Europe about the time of the Crusades, and in one form or other have there remained.

Before the time of Mohammed, the Arabs worshipped idols, a practice severely reprobated, and finally abolished by him; as was also the worship of the stars, introduced by the Sabians. According to Sir William Jones, idolatry and Sabaism were confined to the uneducated; the chiefs and poets were Theists, believing only in Allah.

Every one knows, that Mohammedanism is now the religion of the Saracen countries. The Koran contains most of their doctrines; and the "Sonna," a compilation of traditions, revered by the Sonnites or orthodox Moslems, contains the residue. Algazali, a celebrated doctor of Arabic theology, has summed up the religion of the Koran and Sonna, in a creed first published in Europe by Dr. Pococke in his *Specimen Historiæ Arabum*; it is also prefixed to Dr. Ockley's History of the Saracens. It is divided into two parts, the first relating to the nature and attributes of the Supreme Being, the latter explaining the meaning involved in the sentence, "Mohammed is the Apostle of Allah." The description of the unity and power of the Creator, is nearly the same as that given in the Bible, and is, of course, unexceptionable. Our readers may form an opinion for themselves; of the second part we will give the substance. It announces several articles of faith not generally known as belonging to Mohammedanism.

Every true Moslem must believe, that Mohammed is the Apostle of Allah, sent to deliver his message to all rational beings less than angels, that he is superior to the other prophets, and that his principal companions are to be venerated next to himself, in the following order, first Abubeker, then Omar, Oth-

man, and lastly, Ali.\* Mohammed is exalted far beyond his companions, so that no one must speak of the nature of Allah, without adding that Mohammed is his apostle. In these words is implied, all else that the orthodox Moslem must believe, which may be reduced to the ensuing statement.

Immediately after death, every one is visited by two terrible angels, Munkir, and Nakir, who re-unite his soul with his body in order that he may sit upright in his grave and answer their questions as to the unity of Allah, and the mission of Mohammed. After this angelic inquisition, the deceased rests until the day of judgment, when he is awakened by the trumpet of Israfil. The works of each are then to be weighed in a balance with two scales attached to a beam, equal in extent to the heaven and the earth. One of the scales is the balance of light, the other that of darkness. Books beautiful to the sight, in which are written the good works, are cast into the first, and the unsightly volumes of evil actions into the other. Weights not larger than atoms are provided to throw into the ascending scale, so that the difference between the two may be ascertained with the most exquisite accuracy, and thus every one be rewarded or punished in exact proportion to his works. After the actions are estimated, the deceased are all brought to a test which separates the virtuous from the reprobate, for there is "a real way which is a body extended over the middle of Hell, sharper than a sword and finer than a hair." Over this all must pass, and by the eternal decree of Allah, infidels slip into the abyss, but the faithful are conducted in safety. Having passed this perilous road, the believer is led to the lake of Mohammed, which is formed from the water of the river Cauthar, flowing into it through two canals. It is whiter than milk and sweeter than honey. In imitation of a Divine original, the false prophet promised his disciples that whoever drinks this water shall thirst no more for ever. The lake is a month's journey in breadth. Around its borders are cups innumerable. From it the believer passes into a paradise of never ending sensuality.

Such is an outline of the regular religious belief of Islam. But there are, besides, manifold superstitions, some supported by the Koran, and the others not at variance with it. They are worthy of a few moments attention.

There is a remote region situated amongst the mountains of Kaaf, which surround the habitable world. It is of such immense extent, that three hundred years are required to travel from some parts of it to others; it is intersected with rocks, mountains, and oceans, and is named "Ginnistan." The inhabi-

\* The heretical Sheeites refuse to acknowledge the three first of these Caliphs.

tants are beings, whom the Arabs call "Ginn," but to whom we have given the Latin name *Genii*, which is similar in sound and bears the same signification. The *genii* hold an intermediate rank between men and angels; they pass with inconceivable rapidity through space, and have power to assume any form. They are not immortal, though many of them cannot be destroyed, except by the omnipotence of Allah, or by the most tremendous magical charms. Others are of a subordinate nature and are employed by their sovereigns in laborious works. The *genii* are mostly collected into empires, each commanded by a Sultan. Some live by themselves, haunting ruins and other lonely places. Formerly all were in a state of rebellion against Allah; but So-leymaun, or Solomon, the son of David, converted many of their nations and broke the strength of the others in numerous conflicts, so that all are now subjected to him. Of the rebels, the *Afrits* are the most powerful and the worst. The evil *genii* are the subjects of Degial, a gigantic *Afrit*, with wings and claws. He is kept in chains on a rock, but is destined one day to break loose, and devastate the world. These beings are not confined to the infernal dominions of *Eblis*, but with the others, live amongst the *Kaaf*; where is the city of *Ahermaun*, the abode of the principle of evil.

Inferior to the *Genii*, is the race of *Peris*, well known to all who admire the Asiatic elegance of *Lalla Rookh*. No more need be said of them than that they are the same as our Fairies. *Gholes* are a compound of wild beasts and demons in a human form: they are powerful and ferocious, devouring indiscriminately all whom they can overcome. They invade the grave and feast upon the half putrefied bodies; and when these are wanting, seize on unwary travellers and tear them to pieces. Sometimes they veil their disgusting propensities under an appearance of civilization, and mingle with the world; they even intermarry with mankind. *Vampyres* are well known to us as the bodies of the dead, impelled by a dreadful and irresistible necessity to preserve an accursed existence by sucking the life-blood of others, who, in their turn, are doomed after death to the same state of being.

We believe it is now settled by the universal opinion of the learned, that most of the Arabic fictions came originally from Hindustan. The few which were derived from Arabia, have been changed to the likeness of the Indian. The connexion between the Hindu and Arabic tales, is satisfactorily traced by Mr. Hole, in his work before mentioned, and also by the author of a deservedly esteemed modern book, the "*Sketches of Persia*."

As the popular superstitions of Europe came directly from the East, we are not altogether in a strange creation when

we meet with them in the Arabian tales: but they are so spiritualized with us, that half their terrors are lost. We so associate the phantoms of the nursery with the immaterial nature of the soul, that they scarcely seem to have power to do us harm. In places situated on the verge of civilization, such as the northern islands of the British empire are, or lately were, the inhabitants preserve a genuine idea of demons, who, like those of Asia, wander about, excluded from paradise, but not yet doomed to hell. These fancies seem to the Arabian so consecrated by the traditions of his faith, that he cannot escape from his superstitions without abjuring his religion.

That which is most appalling in the Saracen superstitions is, the earthly form and human attributes assigned to the evil genii and gholes. The Arab fears no indistinct and visionary being, whilst he hurries home through deserted places; for he knows that it is not more certain that Allah commissioned Mohammed to preach the true faith, than that the air and earth are alive with malignant demons, whose bodily power is sometimes permitted to extend even to the persons of believers. Unaccountable dread sometimes falls at night upon those, who, in Christian countries, have every assurance of a superintending Providence; but how much more must this be overpowering to one who is unable to see a distant shadow through the twilight, and feel certain that it is not cast from the iron wing of some Afrit, abroad on the work of destruction. When the Arab mariners are driven by the storm amongst the rocks and sand-bars, through which they grope their way from port to port, shipwreck is not the worst they have to fear. To be swallowed in the ocean, would be preferable to being cast by any chance on an island such as Poelsetton, where they would be received by the inhabitants, who are devils, howling night and day. The power of the evil genii may inflict something worse than death on their victims. Instead of sending him out of their reach, which extends not beyond the grave, they may doom him to linger an enchanted existence in a brutal form, or in a state similar to that of the King of the Black Isles, mentioned in one of the Arabian tales, who was half changed into black marble, and was beaten every day by the tormenting enchantress who metamorphosed him. The superstitious terrors of the Saracens are probably less powerful than when the Arabian Nights were composed; for then the Turks were not so phlegmatic, nor the Persians so sceptical as now. But we are notwithstanding inclined to think, that, especially in Turkey and Arabia, the marvels related in the Arabian Nights, do not fall far short of the present belief of the people.

Talismans, amulets, and magic words, placed men above the power of evil spirits. These are various in their nature. We



are told by Malte-Brun, that the name and idea of talismans are derived from the mountain Telesme, in Persia, between Khorasan and Irak-Adjemi; which is so covered with black sand, that it is said often to seem to be of a new form. This conjecture is a little supported by the supposition of the Arabs, that some of the most highly wrought talismans are placed on lofty mountains. Such is the talisman on the loadstone mountain, by which the vessel of prince Agib, in the story of the third Calendar, is destroyed. When the ship approaches the fatal place, the pilot informs the crew that the iron work would fly out, and the vessel go to pieces. This takes place, and all are lost but prince Agib. He swims to the foot of the mountain, which rises almost perpendicularly from the ocean, except just where he lands. At that point there is a flight of steps cut in the rock, leading to the summit. He ascends and finds a dome, under which are a man and horse of bronze, with a piece of lead on the man's breast, engraved with certain talismanic characters. In obedience to a dream, he digs under his feet, and finds a bow and three leaden arrows. He shoots them at the horseman, who falls into the sea; the horse also falls, and is buried in the place whence the arrows were taken. The sea gradually swells to the top of the hill, and a boat appears at a great distance. The dream had directed him to embark in it, and had cautioned him against pronouncing the name of Allah, promising a safe return home if he obeyed. The boat is of brass, and is rowed by a brazen man. Agib, when near the end of his journey, unfortunately exclaims, "Allah be praised;" the brazen boat immediately sunk, and he was abandoned to further adventures. We have repeated this account, under a conviction that few have read it since their early youth; and because we consider it as describing the finest specimen of the Eastern talismans of which we ever recollect to have read. There is much grandeur in the idea of the solitary and destructive mountain, and the circumstances attending the dissolution of the charm are wild and interesting. Talismans were usually of a less elaborate construction; consisting of rings or gems, engraved with cabalistic words. Some enabled their owner to command the world of spirits; others were merely amulets, or preservatives against evil. Whoever had them in his possession, was for the time master of their virtues, which underwent no change, however they were transferred.

There is little fresh information on the subject of the Eastern superstitions, to be derived from the newly translated tales contained in the last volume of Dr. Scott's edition of the *Arabian Nights*. Our ideas of the Arab fictions would have been much higher, had we not seen this addition to our former store. The stories of "Mazin of Khorasan," and of the "Sultan of Hind,"

are much better than the others, and are equal to any, except the very best, of the old collection. In the remainder of the new translation there is no point; the wonders are borrowed from the former tales; the characters are insipid; and set phrases are repeated with a tiresome frequency. The ancient vigour of the people, both in intellect and in moral sentiment, seems to have been lost when these new romances were composed. Cunning is generally represented as successful, without regard to the character of him who employs it, or the dishonest means he uses to accomplish his end. The wise men arrive at their conclusions by extraordinary and false processes of reasoning. Dr. Scott says, in his Notes, that some of the tales were so indecent, that he had to omit them; but this is said to be the case with some of those forming the original collection. So far as we may judge from the English version, they are written in a correct style, but exhibit few passages bearing the trace of genius. Even where for a while they rise above the ordinary strain of the narrative, they soon fall back again to common place. From one instance of this we felt real vexation; for at first it seemed as if we had found a passage which would repay the disappointment occasioned by the rest of the volume. When Mazin of Khorasan explores the realms of the genii in search of his wife, after passing through numberless dangers, he succeeds in defrauding three brothers of three talismans, by which he accomplishes, in a few days, a journey which otherwise would have required centuries. He arrives at the borders of a vast ocean, across which he sees his place of destination, the islands of Waak al Waak, "whose mountains appeared at the distance of a fiery red, like the sky gilded by the beams of the setting sun." But when Mazin reaches the islands, he meets nothing to correspond with the interesting ideas we have formed of them. The description gradually rises in interest till he comes to this place, where there is the finest scope for original and wild conceptions; then it becomes tame, and all is spoilt by the transition from strength to weakness. In justice, however, to this tale, we must admit that it contains some well written passages. Dr. Scott deserves the thanks of the literary world for his pains in translating these additional tales, though they have little intrinsic value. All accessions to our knowledge are useful; and not the least so are those which afford new themes for the meditative mind, when it dwells upon the gradual decay of a great national literature.

Nothing more need be said of the best tales of the Arabian Nights, in which number we include all of the former translation, except that we regard them as we believe they are viewed by every one. We consider them as powerful delineations of national character, seen through a veil of delicately wrought fic-

tion. Taken collectively, they form as it were a gallery of living pictures, where we may see the Saracens portrayed in every variety of their nature. In some, we are presented with the incidents of ordinary life, the manners of artisans and men of business, drawn in an accurate, satisfactory, but not vulgar manner. Again, we see the interior of palaces, converse with emperors and viziers, or gaze on the "enshrined beauties," the daughters of kings, and rivals of the celestial Houries. Looking at others, we find displayed the terrors of the supernatural world, surrounded with the varying landscapes, the never-dying verdure, and sun-bright domes of Fairy land. Combining description, poetry, eloquence, philosophy, religion, and romance, the Arabian Nights are fitted better than any other work to exhibit the Saracen literature to the other nations of the world.

It is to be regretted that these Tales are deficient in descriptions of the times before Mohammed. The scenes are laid either with a fabulous date, or at an era immediately preceding their composition, and after the conquest of Persia. Not one of them can properly be called a *historical romance*. It may be, however, that such exist amongst the innumerable fictions preserved in the Oriental popular traditions. If the agitations which are at present disturbing Turkey, should eventuate in the spread of Christianity over that empire, there will be great facilities for obtaining all the prose and poetry of the Saracens, which some day may become as familiar to us as those of any European people.

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ART. III.—*A Grammar of the Latin Language, for the use of Colleges and Seminaries. From the German of C. G. Lumpt.* New-York: 1829.

IT is apparent to those who observe the state of classical education, that a time is approaching, if it has not already appeared, in which the intrinsic value of classical studies, and their relative importance as the foundation of liberal discipline, will pass a most rigorous examination, which, we rely with implicit confidence on our enlightened age, will terminate in a complete victory of classical education; but at the same time, contribute not a little to enlarge and purify the views of the public with respect to this important subject, and to improve the method of this species of education itself.

It appears to us, as if there had not always prevailed that rea-

diness of entering upon a close scrutiny of this subject, which it is desirable should prevail; nay, it almost seems as if there existed a hidden fear that such an examination might end to the disadvantage of classical education. The cause of classical studies is, in this respect, precisely the same as that of Christianity or any other important truth, either scientific or moral, intended to expand the mind, and ameliorate the condition of man. A strange awe formerly prevented men from examining the truth of Christianity, as if eternal truth, revealed in the religion of Christ, could be found false in its innermost germe. It is true, that such examinations may be, and indeed have been, carried on in a spirit little suited to the sublimity of the subject, but such critics, whether divines or philosophers, have not shaken the foundation on which our hope rests, but evinced only their own perversity in denying a due respect to that, the falsehood of which is yet to be proved. They have not only not moved a single stone of the foundation, but, on the contrary, afforded numerous and striking proofs of its solidity.

Thus it is with classical studies. It ought to be matter of rejoicing, rather than apprehension, that the spirit of inquiry has been directed to this quarter. If these studies really are, and really perform what their advocates assert them to be and to perform, an examination, so far from impairing their value, will only set it forth to greater advantage.

We are happy to see that a great step has been made towards this desirable end. One of our oldest and most respectable learned institutions has sent forth a report equally honourable to the gentlemen who defended their cause with so much ability, and to the institution which subjected its measures to the scrutiny of the public. In such a mode of proceeding, science and literature can never be the losers, but will confirm their followers in their attachment, and thin the ranks of their adversaries. We wish to hear of others, either institutions or individuals, taking up arms in defence of the subject in question, or in an honourable opposition to it; not that it should be done more ably, but because life is so busy, and so small a portion of the public take a lively interest in this subject, that it requires reiterated appeals in order to make an impression on the pre-occupied minds of the majority.

It is not our intention, at this time, to enter on this discussion; we shall suppose the question to be decided in favour of classical studies, both as to their own value, and as to their importance, considering them as the foundation of all liberal education, and now go a step farther, and speak of the best *mode* of pursuing these studies. It may be, we shall thus contribute something to facilitate the decision of the question. For we are aware that many honest and sensible men, who are not



able, on account of their different education and pursuits in life, to form an opinion as to the value of classical education itself, by comparing the expense of time, labour, and money, with the results, arrive at a conclusion not at all in its favour. By a very pardonable mistake, they confound the method of communicating the knowledge with the knowledge itself; and seeing that so many have spent much time and labour on these studies, without deriving any palpable advantage from them, they pass judgment against the studies themselves. The duty devolves on all the patrons of classical education, especially on all schools and teachers, to wrench this argument from the hands of their adversaries, by constantly improving their method, and thus, by facts, always the most overwhelming arguments, to convince the opponents of the injustice of their accusations.

We shall contribute our small share to the attainment of this great end, with all proper humility, and with a due consideration of the many impediments, which arise from peculiar circumstances, but especially from the youth of this country, where, of course, the practical arts and sciences are of prior importance, and have been, and will yet for some time be, in the way of a more rapid improvement. Yet we intend to speak with freedom and fearlessness, conscious that our object is the advancement of humanity in the highest sense of the word. It is not our intention to disparage the merits of former methods, or those yet in use; we disclaim any such intention once for all; but we start from the supposition that knowledge is not stationary, but continually advancing, and likewise the method of acquiring it. To deny that the science of philology has advanced within the last twenty or thirty years, would betray great ignorance; we need only mention *Heyne*, *F. A. Wolf*, *Hermann*, *Creuzer*, and consider in what condition they found, and in what they left or will leave it. Many of them have not only produced new views of single parts of antiquity and its writers, but have created new sciences, as the *Symbolic* of *Creuzer*, and *Metric* of *Hermann*; which need only to be named, to silence at once any doubts as to the advancement of the science of antiquity, and with it, of the necessary advancement of the method of communicating it.

Before we enter upon the discussion of the subject, we must remark that we shall confine ourselves to *the method of studying the Latin language*, not because we are of opinion that this study should be pursued apart from that of the Greek language, but because the occasion of this article, and the publication of the work which we have placed at the head of it, naturally lead us to begin with the Latin language, and our limits oblige us to confine ourselves to it. Although we have several important

reasons for not joining the party of those who would begin the classical studies with that of the Greek language, yet we are so far from advocating a separation in the pursuit of these two studies, that we, on the contrary, believe both will gain by a connexion which affords innumerable points of comparison, and thereby, as many opportunities of entering more deeply into the genius of either language.

Whatever advantages may be expected from the study of the Latin language, it is certain they cannot be derived, if the study is not *thorough*. Whether we look upon this language and its study, as one of the great avenues to the knowledge of antiquity, or as one of the best means to cultivate the various powers of the mind, that knowledge or this culture of the mind can be attained by a thorough study only. A superficial course, even if it should embrace the whole extent of Latin literature, will want that solidity, without which, none of the expected advantages can be derived; it will be a mere smattering; while, on the other hand, a thorough study, though it should soon cease, will abound in rich fruits, as far as its course extended. This thoroughness in the study of the Latin language is so much more necessary, as the subject is a difficult one. Although the difficulties are not insurmountable, yet they are so great as to require not only perseverance and much industry, but also, time to master them. We must bear in mind that the study of this language, the structure of which is so complicated, which in perfection approaches nearest to the Greek, and whose literary treasures are numerous, and comprising most departments of science and art, affords a series of exercises to almost all mental powers, beginning from those which appear earliest in childhood, and gradually advancing to those which develop themselves together with the mature understanding of manhood. The study of an ancient language is a gradual advancement from the smallest minutiae to the comprehension of the most wonderful creations of the human mind. A thorough knowledge of the former, is an indispensable condition of the latter. The enjoyment derived from the latter, will be marred by a deficiency in the former. It is, indeed, difficult to convince boys, or persons who do not possess experience of their own, of the correctness of this assertion; but if the instructor is firmly convinced of it, and acts accordingly, the scholar, too, will soon discover the advantages of such a method, and feel encouraged to persevere in his exertions.

This consideration will at once convince us of the necessity of having sufficient time, and warn us against an error very common with those who desire to be as thorough as possible. We allude to the endeavour to render every thing at the first time of

its being offered to the scholar, perfectly intelligible, not considering that we must begin with something which is to be received upon faith, as it were, with the memory, rather than with a view of being thoroughly understood, but which, if it is well stored in the memory, will obtain all necessary explanation and illustration in the progress of the study. If the instruction is systematical and methodical, nothing, though less clear and intelligible in the beginning, will remain so. To illustrate our meaning, we shall give one example. A boy, beginning the study of the Latin language, with the variations of the different cases, if he is bright, will ask what is the origin of these different cases, what relation have they to each other? A judicious instructor, instead of entering into a part of the philosophy of language, thence to prove the necessity of the existence of cases, will tell him to wait a short time, receive merely this fact, the existence of cases, and hope for a fuller understanding with the progress of his knowledge. When he has gone through the syntax, and has observed, in a variety of instances, how the cases are employed to express various relations of words to one another, then he will be able to commence his reasoning as to the nature of cases, founded upon a number of facts, without which the most profound philosophical explanation would have served to confuse rather than to enlighten.

Another consideration which we wish would never be lost sight of, is, that the acquirement of the Latin language is a study, and like any other study, exacts patience and great exertion to master it. We are certainly no advocates of the perverted method of wantonly throwing difficulties into the path of the young scholar, which is already sufficiently thorny, but we are equally averse to the propensity of our own time, of rendering the task easy at the expense of thoroughness, and thus discouraging the scholar from persevering in his pursuit, before he has attained the fruit, which is to afford him a healthy and nourishing food.

In order to render ourselves more intelligible throughout the whole series of our remarks, we shall divide the whole course of the instruction in the Latin language into *three periods*, the first of which is the *grammatical*. Memory is that power of the mind which is principally called upon, in this stage, and it is at the same time that power which develops itself sooner than any other. Borne out by the testimony of the greatest scholars of all countries, and by the experience of all classical schools, we do not hesitate to insist on the most accurate grammatical instruction. The regular declensions of nouns, adjectives, pronouns, and the regular conjugation of verbs, together with the list of prepositions and their usual meaning; after this the irregular declensions, together with the rules and exceptions on the gender

of nouns, the rules on comparison, with their exceptions, and the irregular verbs, must not only, verbatim, be got by heart, but also practically exercised on innumerable examples, in all possible combinations and permutations, until they be indelibly impressed upon the memory. All these exercises should be made both orally and in writing.

Due attention ought to be paid to the correct pronunciation, in learning and exercising these elements of grammar; otherwise both the instructor and scholar will be, in the succeeding stages of the instruction, exposed to infinite trouble, without being able to attain their object. A boy, hearing or learning a word, or a class of words, for the first time, may pronounce them with as little difficulty correctly, as not, provided the instructor attend to this point. If this is neglected in the beginning, not only a correct pronunciation is to be acquired at a later period, but an incorrect one to be unlearned; but if it is attended to, then the scholar acquires with little labour, in a short time, the correct pronunciation of the larger portion of Latin words, and is not likely to torment the well cultivated ears of others, with those barbarous sounds which go under the name of Latin quotations. Here, too, we do not mean to trouble the scholar with a philosophical inquiry, which is the pronunciation that approaches nearest to the pronunciation of the Romans themselves; this inquiry is, at any time, a difficult one, and would be at that period altogether uncalled for; what we insist upon is, an accurate observation of quantity and accent.

We mentioned above, that memory was chiefly exercised in this stage of the instruction, but it is not the only power of the mind which is brought into action. To distinguish the different parts of speech, to observe to what changes each of them is subject, (declension, conjugation, and comparison,) to compare these changes with each other, (the different declensions and conjugations,) to distinguish these changes from the words themselves, (the terminations from the root,) and to imitate the changes, in other words—all these, however simple, are mental operations of the greatest importance, and yet not at all beyond the capacity of a child; though he perform them unconsciously, they are the first exercises of that great power of the mind to abstract a general rule from a number of particulars. These exercises, if made under the guidance of a skilful and judicious instructor, are neither too difficult, nor too dry for the child. No child but a spoiled one, will find exercises dry, which are adapted to bring into action his dawning mental powers, longing, as it were, for occupation.

Without the most familiar acquaintance with these things, an easy and quick understanding of a single sentence, or a whole author, is not to be hoped for; and if this acquirement has been



neglected in the commencement of the study, and at a period when the mind of the scholar was best adapted for the reception of knowledge of this description, it must be either made up at a later period, when memory is less inclined and less able, in consequence of the preceding neglect, to store up these minutiae, and the other powers of mind, in consequence of the advanced age and attainments of the scholar, require their occupation, and thus divide the attention ; or if not made up, this defect will mar all enjoyment which might have been derived from a thorough understanding of the ancients. However trifling and insignificant this elementary instruction may appear to one not judging from his own experience, yet all in possession of this experience will agree with us, that it is the foundation and *sine qua non* of future success in classical studies.

As soon as the regular declensions and conjugations are perfectly familiar to the scholar, translating from the Latin into the mother tongue should commence. Latin Readers are required for this purpose, in which the single pieces are selected and arranged with respect to the grammatical rules, and a gradual advancement from the easy to the more difficult.

The course in the elementary part of grammar, is followed by one in *syntax*, in a similar manner as the former, beginning with the most general rules concerning subject and predicate, the use of cases, the use of tenses and modes, and especially concerning the two great pillars of Latin construction, without which scarcely a single sentence in any author can be understood, we mean the accusative with the infinitive, and the various constructions of the participles, especially that of the ablative absolute. When these outlines of Latin syntax are well explained and illustrated by a number of examples by the instructor, and perfectly comprehended by the scholar, then the more particular rules may be advanced, in proportion as the scholar advances, and thus the whole image filled up. We are aware of the many objections which have of late been raised against a thorough grammatical course. As far as they are meant to set forth the uselessness of such a course, we take leave to declare ourselves plainly and explicitly against them ; but, it appeared at times to us, as if those objections were directed against certain systems of syntax, or, in short, against certain grammars, rather than against the thing itself ; and here we cannot but join in the complaint of the inefficiency of some of the grammars in use.

In the progress of the course in syntax, the single rules ought not only at the time to be abundantly illustrated by a large number of examples, and frequently recurred to in the course of reading, but also by translating appropriate examples into Latin, and gradually by forming such examples themselves. Every

one will be at once convinced of the usefulness of this exercise, who considers for a moment what difference exists between recognising a rule in a given sentence, and observing it in forming one. In the first case, a misunderstanding may happen not only to the scholar, but also the instructor, in spite of the greatest attention ; in the latter, it will discover itself at once not more plainly to the latter than to the former. Here again a most important operation of the mind takes place, the analytic process of recognising a rule in a given instance, and the synthetic, to employ the rule in composing or forming other examples. Yet the scholar is not tried beyond his capacity ; a disposition, innate in every human being, is brought to bear upon a subject which affords rich materials to exercise it. The act of acquiring a language, performed during infancy, without consciousness, is here repeated, only in a more systematical manner. After all the syntactical rules are illustrated by such examples, short pieces, anecdotes from ancient history, which require the application of various rules, may take the place of these single sentences, and form the transition to the exercises in writing Latin.

The study of grammar, as described above, ought to begin early, as soon as the mental faculties which it is to bring into action, discover themselves ; but it ought to proceed slowly, for the development of the mind too is slow, and it would be irrational to expect fruits where the blossom only is forming. Practical exercises are the life of grammatical, as well as of any other instruction ; every rule should be long and variously exercised by a number of examples. Thus, the mind being continually active, becomes stronger, without being exposed to the danger of precocity, and the rules, a certain knowledge of which will be, in the following stage of the study, of the greatest consequence, must impress themselves indelibly on the tender mind of the scholar. For memory increases in strength by a regular activity, as surely as the arm by a continued exercise. The maxim of the Emperor Augustus, *σπεῦδε βραδέως* (*festina lentè*,) cannot be observed too strictly. If the instruction is hastened too much, that which has been learnt, will be either not completely comprehended, or soon forgotten ; and the scholar will arrive at the second period of his study, at the reading of authors, before his mind has attained the maturity necessary to understand and enjoy what he is reading. The field to be run over is otherwise ; time, therefore, is requisite, in order to do well every thing which is to be done ; and, as we just mentioned, the latter exercises require such a maturity of understanding, that it is well not to arrive at them too soon. The object is to cultivate the judgment and taste of the scholar. He is to observe the great art of arranging ideas on some masterwork of the ancients, be

it a poem of *Horace* or *Virgil*, a speech of *Demosthenes* or *Cicero*, a book of *Sallust* or *Thucydides*, the peculiarity of which he has comprehended by an accurate study, noticing every particular, and to learn, guided by an experienced teacher, to divide and arrange materials, to assign the proper place to every part, and connect it correctly with the rest, to reject what is extraneous, to prune what is too luxuriant, to put in the back ground what is subordinate, and throw the strongest light on the principal part. Let us not, therefore, give the works that have been, and still are, the admiration of the greatest men, into the hands of boys who are not yet able to comprehend their spirit, and who ply through with the greatest difficulty. Thus we experience every where the consequence of the preposterous method of making boys, at an early age, read books in Latin, which few of the brightest would take up in their own language—a deeply-rooted disgust for the language and its productions.

We stop here a moment to recommend several exercises, which we consider extremely useful, and which may, at this stage of the instruction, be commenced, although we do not intimate that they should terminate with it; on the contrary, they may be continued with the greatest advantage through the following period, at least in the prosaical part of reading. We mean, in the first place, translating back into Latin, that passage which has been in the preceding lesson translated and interpreted. By this method, not only a large stock of words and phrases is laid up, but also a familiar acquaintance formed with the most common constructions of the language, which will be very serviceable in proceeding to more difficult authors. This exercise, if managed well, is an excellent substitute for the rather unpleasant mode of committing words to memory. An extensive store of words must be acquired, and it cannot be done in a more agreeable manner than that proposed; which is a more useful one, too, since naturally those words and phrases which are most frequently used, will be most frequently recalled to the memory of the scholar. A second exercise is that of written translations. In the commencement of reading, it may constitute a regular exercise; but, in the progress of time, as the lessons increase, the manual labour of writing alone, would be more than could be executed well; then it will be proper to select the most difficult, or interesting, or beautiful passages. Not to speak of the great advantages for the forming of a good style in the mother tongue, for which this exercise is much more calculated than making the poor boys write themes, where two difficulties at the same time present themselves, that of finding matter and clothing it in words, and are either discouraging to them, or accustom them

to join empty phrases together ; this exercise contributes greatly to a perfect understanding of what has been read.

After a thorough perusal of such a collection as we have mentioned above, *Cornelius Nepos* may be taken up, and an Anthology, that is, a collection of poetical pieces of *Phædrus*, *Ovid*, and other poets, appropriated to the degree of philological knowledge, general information and taste of scholars at this stage. A lucid sketch of the most simple principles and rules of prosody, especially of the Latin hexameter, should be the introduction to this exercise. As to *Nepos*, we rejoice at seeing this excellent author gaining daily more ground in many schools ; there is, we suppose, but little difference of opinion as to his peculiar fitness to be given into the hands of a young scholar, as the first author, after having gone through the Latin Reader. We recommend this book so much the more, as we possess a very good English edition, taken from the best German of J. H. Bremi. With respect to a collection of poetical pieces, a step has been made towards this by the publication of several books containing easy extracts or larger parts of some poets. Although these publications may be exceptionable in some respects, they are proofs of a very laudable desire to enlarge the field to be traversed by the beginner, before hurrying him on, unprepared and unfit both as to the knowledge of the language and susceptibility for poetical beauty, to the sublimest productions of Latin poetical literature.

Thus we have given a short, but we hope distinct and intelligible sketch of that which we think ought to be done in the first period of instruction in the Latin language. We shall state in a few words, what we expect to be accomplished by this course of study, though it may be inferred from the exposition of the course itself. As to understanding an author, the scholar ought to be able to translate, parse, and explain, any of the easier biographies of *Nepos*, and as to writing Latin, he ought to translate an easy piece, of one or two octavo pages, without any mistake in grammar, and all those rules of syntax which we have mentioned above.

Thus prepared, the scholar will enter with advantage upon the *second period* of his instruction, the characteristic of which we give by stating it to be destined for the translating and interpretation of authors. As in the first period, grammar in its whole extent was the main object, and translating a means for that end, so in this the understanding of particular authors is the principal object, to which a thorough knowledge of the first principles of grammar, acquired in the previous period, is subservient.

In translating, a literal translation should always be the object, for such an one alone serves to increase the knowledge of the language to be acquired. We are well aware that translations are



frequently used for forming the style in the mother tongue. So far from objecting to this practice, we highly applaud it, provided that the principle and object of either exercise be distinguished. In the former, a correct and accurate expression of what is given in the original, is expected; in the latter, a correct and elegant essay, without a very strict adherence to the original. Still, even with respect to the English style, such a close translation, however awkward in the outset, is by far more instructive than another; for it obliges the scholar to search his whole store of words and phrases, which he would be less apt to do, if not confined to a given idea.

Before we enter more particularly upon a sketch of what is to be accomplished in this period, it will be found appropriate to give a few principles as to the right interpretation of ancient authors, and of Latin authors in particular. There is but one method, though many receive two, a cursory and thorough one; and that one is to explain what requires explanation; if there is little requiring explanation, the reading will, of course, be a cursory one; if there is much, the reading must be slow, or it will be useless, if not injurious, accustoming the mind to be satisfied with a superficial and imperfect knowledge. To explain difficult words and constructions, illustrate the meaning of a passage, where the ideas or their connexion are obscure, short explanations from the departments of mythology, geography, and history, or from the manners, customs, or arts of the ancients, to awaken the sense for the beautiful, noble, and good, and to exercise the judgment, all these are the principal parts of a thorough interpretation. Nothing is more useless than to confine oneself to a mere translation; however an important part of the whole it may be, still it is only a part. There are few portions in the ancient writers, a translation, even an accurate translation, of which, conveys a perfect understanding, unless aided by additional explanations. A thoughtless reading on, does not accomplish what it pretends, and destroys all spirit of self inquiry and independence.

Another error is to look for the spirit of the ancients, neglecting the minutiae as they are called. However precious such a method may be, it lays the axe at the root of a thorough classical education. Any language is, after all, but the form in which ideas are embodied; no one can take hold of these without analyzing that; and though a correct knowledge of the form may be an indifferent object in itself, it ceases to be such, as soon as we perceive that it is the only means, by which we can possess ourselves of the spirit. If this is true in general, how much more in the classical languages, where spirit and body are so closely interwoven, that it is equally impossible to analyze their structure without feeling the breath of grandeur which pervades

the whole, or to search after a spirit which has principally revealed itself in this form. If we want any practical illustrations of the truth of this, history affords them in large number. The greatest philologists arrived at a perfect understanding of the spirit of the ancients by a careful examination of these very minutiae. We owe to a care extending to things apparently trifling, the restoration or purification of *Tacitus* in many passages by *Lipsius*, of *Horace* by *Bentley*, of *Virgil* by *Heyne*; and no one will be bold enough to deny that these great men had deeply penetrated into the spirit, as well as the letter of the ancients. In addition to this, the effect of so accurate a mode of proceeding upon the character, is equally beneficial; for a habit of exerting himself, sense of methodical order, and love for a continued useful occupation, will be produced in the scholar.

All explanation of authors extends to matter and language. It is of importance to bear constantly in mind that the language is still our chief object, and that all other things are only means for this end. Without this distinction, both the instructor and scholar will find themselves involved in a chaos from which neither is likely to find an outlet. All unnecessary digressions ought therefore carefully to be avoided; nevertheless, the explanations of things referring to ancient history, geography, mythology, and antiquities, will be so numerous, and require so much time and attention, if they are expected to answer their purpose, that the danger is great, if not unavoidable, of losing sight of the main object, advancing the knowledge of the language. The only expedient to meet this danger, since the various references to historical, geographical and other subjects require explanation, if the understanding of the author himself be not impaired, is to separate those branches of the science of antiquity, and communicate them in short courses to the scholar, not undertaking deep researches into the dark recesses of antiquity, but merely giving what will be sufficient to understand the difficult allusions in the authors.

Even after a slight examination, it will be discovered that such an arrangement is attended by two very important advantages. In the first place, a passage containing a subject relating to those different branches, will then require nothing else than a recalling to memory of what is known from other lessons, and the course of the main instruction will not be so frequently interrupted, nor the attention of the scholar too much diverted from what ought always to be the chief object. The other advantage derived from such an arrangement is equally important, if not more so, than the one just mentioned.

An occasional explanation of historical, geographical, mythological, or similar subjects, however satisfactory to one who is acquainted with these various branches of philological science,

will never convey a correct and distinct idea of the whole extent of those subjects to the beginner, and without this distinct idea of the whole, the particulars cannot but be exposed to continual misconceptions. One or two examples will best illustrate our meaning. The instructor may be very careful, wherever the name of a country, town, river, or mountain, is mentioned, to tell where these different objects are situated, with other remarks to convey a clear idea of them to the scholar; but all this will never create a correct conception, even of one country, or its relation to the neighbouring countries. In reading the description of Livy, of the march of Hannibal into Italy, the beauty of it is destroyed by constant interruptions to explain the geographical particulars, and, after all, it is very doubtful whether the scholar is better off than Theseus; he has gone through a labyrinth, but he knows as much about it after as before. Or take a historical subject, the ode of Horace, mentioning the death of Cato; such a passage cannot be understood, and still less enjoyed, without some knowledge of the circumstances which induced Cato to prefer death to life. To make an intelligible exposition of these circumstances, requires a digression which evidently draws the attention from the principal object, not to speak of the diminution of pleasure, if a perfect understanding of a passage, that ought to burst at once on the mind of the reader, must be purchased at the expense of such tedious digressions. The beauty of such an ode as we have mentioned, cannot be comprehended in this manner.

We could easily multiply these examples, to prove the necessity of separating these subjects, and giving a separate but very concise course of geography and other auxiliary branches. It would lead us too far, to advance our opinions as to the character of such a course; suffice it to say, that one point ought always to be borne in mind, that these branches are only the means and not the end, and that it cannot possibly be the intention to exhaust the subjects of which they treat. When that which is at present our sole object is attained, knowledge of the language and acquaintance with the literature of the Romans, then the mutual relation of these sciences and the language will be changed; that which was object will become means, and the means will change into objects; then the study of the language will be continued for the sake of extending the knowledge in these various sciences. But this is something extraneous to our present undertaking. We may congratulate ourselves, that our literature is gradually enlarging with regard to these auxiliary topics of philology. As to history, the valuable work of *Heeren* has lately been presented to us in an English translation; and in ancient geography, two scholars of a southern university, have

furnished a work which we have not yet had a chance of examining, but which will, we trust, have taken advantage of the many discoveries and improvements made in this science. This branch of ancient geography may, with the greatest advantage, follow the study of modern geography; a comparison of both, will serve to impress each more deeply on the memory, and will contribute much towards clearness.

After this necessary digression, as to the treatment of the auxiliary branches, we return to our subject. The natural development of literature, will afford us the means of dividing this period into *four parts*, which we shall call the *poetical, historical, rhetorical, and philosophical*. If we observe the development of the Greek literature, one of the few which grew up of themselves, like healthy trees, until they had reached their full size, we perceive the same progress. *Homer* was followed by *Herodotus*, and *Plato* and *Aristotle*, with their schools, succeeded the long series of orators which had its consummation in *Demosthenes*. It is true, that the development of the Latin literature, is not so natural, because it was, in many parts, a foreign production, imported, not spontaneously springing up in its native soil; yet mankind at large, in developing their taste, pass through these same different stages.

We do not mean, however, that these four parts or classes should be strictly separated, but only that the principal object and direction of each, should thereby be expressed. During the first space, not poetry alone ought to be read, but it should constitute the leading subject; nor do we mean to exclude poetry from the second or following classes, but historical works, then rhetorical, and lastly, philosophical will claim the greater part of the time and attention.

Imagination is that power of the mind which develops itself, next to memory, earlier than any other; and for this reason it is natural to offer to the scholar, principally that branch of literature which will afford nourishment for this faculty, and serve to cultivate and purify it. The history of nations has been frequently compared with the life of individuals, both having their childhood, youth, manhood, and old age. However open to objection this opinion may be in many respects, it is true as to the relation in which the different branches of poetry stand to the different degrees of susceptibility in man for their beauty. This plain hint of nature at once points out the course which we have to pursue. The three great departments of poetry, *epic, lyric, and dramatic*, which succeeded one another, and developed themselves one out of the other (as we see so plainly in the literature of that nation which has not yet been equalled by any other in the natural development of its literary powers) are to



be investigated in the same order in which nature has arranged them.

This principle indicates to us not only the poet, but even the particular work of that poet, which ought to introduce the young scholar into the rich garden of Latin poetry. It is the *Æneid* of *Virgil*. We make here a remark which is applicable to the reading of many authors besides *Virgil*. The poem which we have mentioned as being peculiarly fitted to commence with, is too extensive to be read entirely in the school. It cannot be the object to read all that is worth reading, but to read those authors, and those parts of authors, best calculated to introduce the scholar into the spirit of the language and peculiarity of the work, and to propound them in such a manner as to secure that end, and to leave it to private industry to read the rest, which after such an introduction and thorough acquaintance with those parts of an author that require a careful interpretation, will leave but few and trifling difficulties to puzzle the scholar. In proportion as the scholar advances in the field of knowledge, this field extends, and it becomes a palpable impossibility, both for instructor and scholar, to run it over together; instruction becomes more and more a direction only how to study, but it can no longer exhaust the subject as in the commencement. Happily, in proportion as the subject enlarges, and time decreases, the mind of the scholar matures, and, by a thorough perusal of a few best selected portions of an author, is enabled to master the rest. To run over a whole poem of twelve cantos, in so short a space as is commonly allotted to the reading of this poem, cannot be accomplished except at the expense of thoroughness. We shall not prescribe what portions of the *Æneid* ought to be read. Those which are distinguished for their beauty so as to attract, and for their difficulty so as to require explanation, are so numerous, that a judicious instructor will meet with but little impediment in making a proper selection. The only thing we insist upon is, to change, and not explain continually the same portions. Although the same scholar cannot earn the immediate advantages arising from such changes, the instructor will perceive that his interest is always kept awake, and infuses a life and vigour into his instruction, the best remedy against dulness and pedantry, the most common and injurious sin of classical teaching.

We have already hinted, that although we assign this part of the second period chiefly to the reading of a poet, it is by no means our intention to exclude prose-writers; on the contrary, we insist decidedly on the thorough reading of a good prose-writer, and principally for this reason. The knowledge of the language is, in this stage, yet slender; the scholar must be supposed to be yet unable to distinguish correctly between

poetical and prosaic style, so that he would receive a very imperfect image of the Latin language, if it was solely derived from a poet, since it is from prose-writers that a correct knowledge of the structure of a language, especially the Latin, is to be gained.

To this end we recommend *Livy*. We choose a historian, because history is that department which possesses, next to poetry, the greatest attraction to youthful minds; nay, in many instances, gains an ascendancy over poetry in the affection of the young scholar; and we choose *Livy* in preference to any other, because he is unrivalled by any other Roman historian, as to correctness and elegance of language, both which characteristics have given, and always will give, him a place next to Cicero; freedom from all mannerism, a lucid and never-tedious narrative, abstaining from all inferences beyond the capacity of a young reader, and the all-engrossing interest of the subject itself. Although time has dealt roughly with this author, and the years of barbarism accompanying and succeeding the decline and fall of the Roman empire, have left us but thirty-five books out of one hundred and forty-two, yet even these few remnants are so voluminous, that a selection becomes a matter of necessity. We cannot refrain from tendering our protest against the selection of the first five books of this author, in common use in our country. The first book alone ought to be read, and then single portions of the second half of the first decade, but especially the beginning of the third decade, the account of the second Punic war.

So much as to authors to be read. Some of the smaller philosophical treatises of Cicero, such as those on Friendship and Old Age, afford indeed so few difficulties as to the language, that they might be read at this period with great advantage, if the train of reasoning was not so extensive as to exhaust the perseverance of a young scholar. In addition to a thorough perusal and interpretation of these authors, we recommend the continuation of the exercises commenced in the preceding period, namely that of making occasionally written translations of particularly fine and interesting passages, and frequent translations from the English into Latin of the portions read. The latter exercise is so much more useful, as the Latin style of the scholar himself becomes more and more a matter of importance; it is to be improved by a close observation of the Latin idioms in the best authors, until it is brought as near to its consummation, which is to be hoped for from a thorough understanding of the prose of Cicero, as the natural ability of the scholar, or the difficulty of obtaining perfect mastery of a dead language will permit. And what author can contribute more towards this end than *Livy*, with his sentences and periods so pure and polished!

The class characterized above as the *historical*, follows next ; Livy would be succeeded by *Sallust*. We think that few reflecting men will object to this order. The principal difficulty of *Sallust* does not lie in his style, though this is frequently so concise as to approach to obscurity, but in the philosophical manner in which he treats his subject. By far the greatest part of it is beyond the capacity of youths at that age when they usually read *Sallust* ; and to choose single easy parts only, is rendered difficult, if not impossible, by the coherency in narrative and reasoning which distinguishes this author. These considerations, we trust, will justify us in assigning to him a place after *Livy*, when the scholar has not only acquired a sufficient knowledge of the language not to be puzzled by his abrupt and sententious style, but also such a maturity of understanding, as to follow the author in his deep philosophical views of the political state of his country and the nature of man. If we thought it necessary to support our opinion by authority, we would quote *Quintilian* (ii. 5. 18 and 19 :) "*Quod si potuerit obtineri, non ita difficilis supererit quæstio, qui legendi sint incipientibus. Nam quidam illos minores, quia facilius eorum intellectus videbatur, probaverunt ; alii floridius genus ut ad alenda primarum ætatum ingenia magis accommodatum. Ego optimos quidem, et statim et semper, sed tamen eorum candidissimum quemque et maxime expositum velim, ut Livium a pueris magis quam Sallustium ; et hic historiæ major est auctor, ad quem tamen intelligendum jam profectu opus sit.*" In some instances, it may be desirable to read only a part of *Sallust* ; in this case we should give the preference to the *Bellum Catilinarium* over the *Bellum Jugurthinum*, on account of the greater polish of the former, and on account of the subject giving the most lucid representation of the period immediately preceding the occurrence of the civil convulsions that shook the constitution of Rome to its foundation, and terminated in a complete overthrow of the republican principle and spirit.

At this period, we would recommend an exercise which we have always found extremely useful. It cannot be denied, that in choosing an author whom it requires the whole energy of the scholar to master, the progress will be necessarily slow, and the attention principally directed to particulars, and yet it is desirable that the scholar should accustom himself to observe and follow an author in his plan at large, as well as to understand all the single parts which constitute the whole. For this reason, we propose the reading of one or several authors, in a manner which is generally termed *cursory*, which brings the single parts before the mind in so much shorter a time, that it is comparatively easy to examine the structure of a whole literary production, and to

learn that from the ancients, in which they are still unrivalled, to draw the outlines of a work in such correct proportions, that the work, when filled up and polished, may form one harmonious whole. But since we are irreconcilably opposed to superficial reading, we choose for this exercise writers, who, through their facility of language and simplicity of subject, afford but few, if any difficulties. The beginning in this exercise might be made with reading, a second time, writers that have been read at an earlier period, as some of the finest biographies of Nepos, and then to go over to new ones, among which the commentaries of *Cæsar* would occupy one of the first places; but there are many suitable for this mode of reading, *Eutropius*, *Justinus*, *Florus*, *Paterculus*, *Curtius*. This exercise will be, at the same time, the best preparation for the course to be pursued in the third period, of which we shall speak hereafter.

As to poetry, the reading of the *Æneid* should be continued to that point, at which it might be safely left to the private study of the scholar, being thoroughly initiated in this greatest of all Latin epic poems, and second only to one. Then the *Eclogues*, and select portions of the *Georgics*, might be subjoined. There is no advantage to be derived from hastening through such an author as Virgil. Though it would be out of place to recommend the example of *Holdsworth*, who devoted his whole literary life to the study of this single poet, yet it is equally wrong to dismiss an author, so rich in every respect, in too short a time.

In proportion as the knowledge of the language increases and gains solidity, the exercise of translating back into Latin, will be of less importance, but all the time gained in this way, ought to be given to writing Latin. As a good preparatory exercise towards making Latin compositions, we consider translations of modern Latinists very useful. It is not to be concealed from any one familiar with the works written in Latin, that the language is a different one from that of the Romans, though the same words, the same constructions, the same formation of sentences and periods, are used. The reason is, the antique spirit has disappeared. To write as Cicero wrote is impossible, because our life is a different one; we cannot think and feel as Cicero thought and felt; but some have succeeded in imitating the form of the language of Cicero, as far as moderns can imitate it without its spirit, and it will be well for us to learn by their experience, to understand the best way of dressing modern ideas, which we cannot prevent from influencing us, as little as we can transfer ourselves at once to a situation different from that which we actually occupy, or wear gracefully an antique garment. The number of good Latinists is not great, but still extensive enough for our purpose; a collection from the most suitable



works of these writers, from *Galitian* down to *Fr. A. Wolf*, in a translation not too free, would be a valuable addition to our school books. Besides these two mentioned, we would recommend *Peter Bembo*, distinguished especially by his *Epistolæ Leonis X. nomine Scriptæ*; *Jacobus Sadeletus*, likewise a good epistler; *Lazarus Nonamicus*, *Paulus Manutius*, the son of the renowned printer *Aldus Manutius*, in Venice; *Marcus Antonius Muretus*, the paragon of modern Latinity, a native of France, (the village of Muret, near Limoges,) all whose works, but especially his letters and orations, ought to be studied by every scholar of Latin literature; *Peter Burmann*; *Tiberius Hemsterhuys*; *Jacobus Facciolati*, under whose direction *Ægidius Forcellini* composed the best dictionary of the Latin language which we possess, and who is especially commendable on account of his twelve orations *de optimis studiis*; *Joannes Augustus Ernesti*; *David Ruhnken*, to be mentioned here principally on account of his life of his teacher, Hemsterhuys; and *Daniel Wytttenbach*. Those who are familiar with modern Latin literature, will miss in the preceding list many great names; but, in the first place, it is not our intention to give a complete catalogue, and secondly, many, however distinguished as to learning and their influence exercised on classical studies, as *Josephus Justus Scaliger*, *Justus Lipsius*, *Joannes Gr. Gronovius*, *Joannes Georgius Grævius*, *Joannes Matthias Gessner*, and many others, are not equal to those mentioned above as to elegance and purity of style, our only criterion.

We come next to the *rhetorical class*. It is indeed a sad misfortune, that of the long series of illustrious orators of Rome, one only has been handed down to us through the many storms of time; but we may console ourselves that this one is *Cicero*. His speeches are so excellent in every respect, that they cannot be studied too carefully. A selection must, indeed, be made, but we wish that it should not be immutably fixed by such collections as are now in common use among us. Even if these collections, in themselves, were unexceptionable, this orator is too universal to be confined within limits so narrow; the instructor should continually change, and not confine himself to a few orations, however good; and although the scholar will not have time to read over the larger part of Cicero's orations, yet he will derive great advantages from his instructor's continually reviewing the whole field of Cicero's oratory. It is true, that many orations of Cicero, especially those in private causes, for or against individuals, and *de lege agraria*, contain many difficulties as to Roman laws, and other branches of Roman antiquities, but they can be mastered, if such a separate course in antiquities, as above described, has been given, and the scholar is aided by an intelli-

gent and learned instructor. A selection from the letters of Cicero will serve both as a commentary on many of his orations, and as an opportunity to become acquainted with the man in his private intercourse with his friends and acquaintances. As soon as a few orations are thoroughly interpreted, portions of the rhetorical works, especially of *de oratore* and *Brutus*, should be read, to render the scholar familiar, both practically and theoretically, with the principles and history of that art which has been, and is destined to be still more, one of the most important engines in our political life, and which is, nevertheless, far from improving as much as it might.

In addition to these works, relating to oratory, a historical writer ought to be read, and here is the proper place for *Tacitus*, in many respects the first historian, not only of the Romans, but of all succeeding nations; *Gibbon*, of the English, and *Müller*, of the Germans, have rarely equalled, and never surpassed him. There is, perhaps, no other Latin author who takes so strong a hold on the whole soul of his reader as Tacitus; he gains upon the affections, in proportion as he is understood. And here we must make the remark which we have already made, that no instructor should confine himself to a certain portion, which is never to be overstepped either by the teacher or the pupil. The loss of more than four books of the *Annals*, not to mention other defects, is severe enough. Let us not increase it by depriving our youth of an acquaintance with a considerable portion of this inestimable writer. Notwithstanding this, we must insist on reading slowly, for though his language affords, comparatively speaking, but few difficulties, yet he is so rich in ideas, that almost every word, certainly every sentence, claims a thorough illustration, or, as an admirer of Tacitus expressed himself very appropriately, "much is to be read between the lines." We should be very unwilling to see this author read at an earlier period. Besides the difficulty of understanding and appreciating him, it is necessary that the scholar should have gone through a sufficiently extensive course of reading, in order to have acquired some tact at least, if not yet a distinct knowledge and consciousness of the degeneration of the language of Tacitus from that of the best era of Roman literature, that he may relish and admire the bold, nervous, and sententious style, of this hero of history, without overlooking the want of purity, both in the construction and use of words, which even his most zealous admirer cannot but acknowledge.

The exercise of translating into Latin, should be industriously continued, and gradual attempts made to compose in Latin. Historical subjects are, for this purpose, the best to begin with. The instruction in history of which we have spoken above, and his private reading, will readily supply the scholar

with matter, and his acquaintance with the best Latin historians, together with his practice of translating, with the form for these essays. We take this opportunity to warn both instructors and scholars, against a mistake very common in English instruction, and which is still more preposterous in Latin; we mean the selection of subjects on which the scholars are to write. There is no greater injury done to the growth of the mind, than by making youths write on subjects of which they cannot possess a sufficient information. The object of this exercise is to learn how to express ideas in the best manner. If any other subject is chosen, than that of which the scholar can have acquired a certain knowledge or opinion, he will be accustomed to be superficial, to neglect what he should say, and to mind only how he is to write; to be satisfied, if he has joined together a series of high sounding words and sentences.

We preserve the reading of *Horace*, for this class. Although Horace was, during his own life and for some time afterwards, little esteemed and known, as *Meierotto*, a profound classical scholar of Germany has shown, (in a dissertation *de rebus ad auctores quosdam classicos pertinentibus*,) yet it cannot be denied, that his excellencies assign him the first place among the lyric poets, at least of the Romans, and for this reason he has always occupied a conspicuous place among the authors commonly read in schools, and he will, as long as the Latin language and its literature will continue to have their votaries. It is apparent to every one who looks even on the form of the lines alone, that there is a great variety of metre. Considering that the ancients never used a particular form without a sufficient reason, we must set out with the conviction, that these various metres are by no means a matter of indifference. We must not think that the beauty of a poem of Horace may be enjoyed without a knowledge of its metrical structure, as well as with it. It is otherwise, although there are in every ode of Horace, beauties, independent of the metre. We have a variety of systems to arrange and classify the metres of Horace, some of which distinguish themselves for their facility and simplicity. But if we consider that the whole of ancient prosody, both Greek and Latin, is built upon the same principles, the advantage of choosing a system formed on these principles, will be at once apparent, and although such a system may, in the commencement, appear complicated, yet in the end it will prove simple, and a great means to master the more difficult metres of Greek lyric and dramatic poets. What the great *Bentley* has done for *Terence*, a German scholar has done for the whole of prosody, we mean *Godfr. Hermann*, whose work (*Elementa doctrinæ metricæ*) ought to be in the hands of every classical

scholar who is desirous to advance beyond the most common rudiments. The original work, which appeared in 1816, in a new shape, is written in Latin, and thus accessible to all scholars; a compendium of it is written in German, a translation of which would be a valuable acquisition to our classical school books.

When such a knowledge is obtained, and by frequent practice, both in reading and composing verses, improved so far that the graceful dance-like movement of a Horatian ode may be felt and enjoyed, by any ear not entirely closed to the charms of music and rhyme; every ode ought to be read at once without stopping at the particulars, in order to receive a full impression, which would be otherwise lost. Every ode is a whole, rounded off and perfect in itself, and an image of it as a whole ought to be received first in the mind. We do not deny that a considerable knowledge of the language is required for this purpose; but this knowledge will exist, if Horace is read at that period which we have assigned to him. When this first impression is made, which undoubtedly will be a deep one, then a second reading may be devoted to the particulars. A poem of Horace is like a piece of architecture, which must be at first beheld at a suitable distance, to perceive its outlines and the correctness of its proportions; but then you may approach and enjoy the single beauties, which are in Horace as abundant and various, as the whole is pure and chaste. The first reading will show us the point of view in which Horace took his subject; a subsequent examination will acquaint us with the execution.

These few remarks refer to Horace as a lyric poet, but he is also a didactic one, and how perfect as such! As the lyric poems of Horace place before us a rich flower-garden of Greek poetry, so we possess in his other works, the finest specimens of that branch of Latin literature, the satirical, which is the peculiar production of the Romans, and which is indeed stamped with the mark of originality; the epistles and satires of Horace, are truly Roman, and as such, no less to be prized, than for their intrinsic value. The instructor should direct the attention of his scholar to the gradual improvement of Horace in his writings, if not as to originality of invention, and freshness and power of thought, at least as to purity and polish of language, and smoothness of versification.

The *last* of the four classes into which we divided the second period, is the *philosophical*. The Latin literature in the department of philosophy, although inferior in almost every respect to the Greek of the same department, especially in the philosophy of the mind, is yet so extensive as to render a judicious selection not only desirable but necessary. The first writer who claims



our particular attention in this department, as well as in the rhetorical, is *Cicero*. Portions of the *Quæstiones Tusculanæ* should be read, and, if possible, the whole of *De Natura Deorum*, *De Officiis*, and *De Republica*, which, being the production of an accomplished and experienced statesman, ought to be in the hands of every American who has enjoyed a classical education. The pure language, and the well-formed periods of this writer, will offer but few difficulties; more attention ought to be paid to the art of composition, the arrangement of ideas, and the strictness of reasoning, distinguishing all ancient writers, but none more than *Cicero*.

We wish that the larger portion of time should be devoted to *Cicero*, and much less to *Quintilian*, in fact so much only as to initiate the scholar, in some measure, in the spirit of this writer, and still less to *Seneca*. After a thorough study of *Cicero*, both as an orator and philosopher, the two authors last mentioned will afford not many difficulties, and may with propriety be left to the private study of the scholar. For we remind our readers once more of a remark already made, that instruction at this stage, cannot be any thing else but a direction and assistance for the private exertions of the student. Few and scanty will the fruits be, which are obtained from what has been done in the school, if not united with private exertions.

With reference to poetry, the natural development of this art will lead us, having formed an acquaintance, and, it is to be hoped, familiarity, with the best epic and lyric poets of Rome, to its consummation, the *drama*. But here even the most enthusiastic admirer of Roman genius, in all its works, must acknowledge the immeasurable inferiority of the Romans to their prototypes the Greeks; a decisive argument, if there was need of any, that poetry was, with almost the single exception of satire, but an exotic plant in the rough soil of the mistress of the earth. Nevertheless, since we study and judge of Latin literature, not by comparison, but as the interesting relick of the intellectual life of one of the greatest nations that history exhibits, we should extend our study even to this province, and a familiar acquaintance with it, will induce us to differ from the sentence of unqualified condemnation pronounced by *F. A. Schlegel*, and some other over-zealous advocates of the Greek drama.

To begin with *tragedy*, we think it advisable to read one or two plays of those which commonly go under the name of *Seneca*. It cannot be our object to enter into a critical inquiry as to the author or authors of these tragedies, nor as to their relative worth, except as far as is necessary to guide us in making a choice. That which is first on the list, *Hercules Furens*, is one of the best, if not really the best, though it shares the defects common to all—extravagance and bombast. For this reason, and because it forms

an interesting point of comparison with the *Ἡρακλῆς μαινομένος* of *Euripides*, it may be recommended as a fair specimen of Latin tragedy. There can be no doubt that the author imitates Euripides, but he did it with understanding, and avoided one mistake especially; Euripides has evidently two actions in his play, the former terminating with the death of Lycus, the latter beginning with that which is in Seneca's the commencement, the determination of Juno to deprive Hercules of his senses, and, in this state, make him the murderer of his own children. It is true that there are other faults which are not to be found in Euripides; one of the greatest of which is the long descriptions, which are not only too long, but almost superfluous, being also misplaced. Another play of this collection, which we would recommend, is *Octavia*, and this for no other reason, than because it leaves the heroic era, and, contrary to the character of almost all Greek tragedies, has a subject out of the very age to which the author belongs. *Octavia* is the daughter of Claudius, married by him to Nero, but repudiated by the latter, exiled to Pandateria, and put to death.

We shall meet with a richer harvest, if we turn to the field of *Latin comedy*. Mythology, the store-house of ancient tragedy, had lost its charm and hold on the minds of the people. Tragedies, which were a religious festival with the Greeks, could be no longer so with the Romans, among whom, infidelity on the one side, and philosophy on the other, had undermined the foundation of their ancient religion. Not so as to comedy. It is true, the Romans have no specimen of the *ancient* comedy, but so much richer a store of the *new*; of *Terence* we have six, and of the hundred and thirty which went, at the time of Gellius, under the name of *Plautus*, and of the twenty-one which the Roman critic, *Varro*, declares to be authentic, twenty have outlived the ravages of time. The opinions of the Romans themselves are divided as to the value of their comic writers. However this may be, these remains have an importance for us which they could not have in the same degree for the Romans, exhibiting almost the only specimens of familiar language, of the language of conversation. This constitutes certainly a valuable part of the literature of a people which has, many centuries ago, ceased to exist. Besides this, Terence has a great merit with us as being, even according to the testimony of *Julius Cæsar*, a good copy of *Menander*. The choice among the six plays of Terence is not easy, there being no great difference in excellence, nor any other circumstances which might decide in favour of one or several plays. Two at least ought to be read; and among those of Plautus the *Captivi* is not to be passed by.

In this class, free Latin compositions should altogether take the place of translations into Latin, with regard to the different

kinds of style. The four principal kinds of style, the historical, the epistolary, that peculiar to dissertation, and the rhetorical, should be sketched in a few but distinct outlines, and the scholar exercised in composing in all of them. After having taken such a view of the best writers in every branch, as we have in the preceding pages laid before our readers, a scholar of moderate ability will be able to obtain that facility of expressing himself in Latin which we here require. To carry this exercise to a greater extent, and imitate the style of single writers, whatever may be said for or against doing so, must be left to the inclination of individuals, whether they wish to imitate a *Freinsheim*, who ventured to supply the lost books of *Curtius* and *Livy*, or *Jacob Balde*, a learned Jesuit, at the time of the thirty years' war, who not only published a very extensive collection of Latin poems of all descriptions, but even a piece in the old Italian language, (*Lingua Osca*.)

Thus we have finished our survey of what is to be accomplished in the second period of Latin instruction, by far the most extensive, and of course requiring a corresponding portion of time. We hasten now to the *third* and last period. We characterized the first period by the term grammatical, and believe we have made ourselves sufficiently intelligible as to the task to be performed in it. The same end we strove to attain in describing the second period, at the completion of which the scholar ought, indeed, to be furnished with a thorough knowledge of the Latin language as contained in those works, which the unanimous judgment of all competent judges has pronounced the classical. But one step is yet remaining. As the first period served as an instrument to solve the problem of the second, a thorough understanding of the best authors of all branches of Latin literature, so the second is again a preparation for that which is to be accomplished in the third, and upon the consideration of which we shall now enter.

In the preceding period, we considered the interpretation of the different authors independently, and wished to obtain a full understanding of them individually. But as a single author is only one link in the chain of a literature, so we must rise one step higher, and extend our view; we must behold him in relation to his age, to those who preceded and followed him; in one word, we must comprise the whole field of Latin literature, and survey it in a historical manner.

The opportunities for such a course are indeed scanty, since we mean it should consist not so much in a history of Latin literature, as in a practical review of all that is memorable in the long series of Latin writers. Wherever time has deprived us of the works of distinguished authors, a short sketch, derived from the most authentic sources, may serve to convey some idea of

his works, their merits and faults, and their influence on the literature at large; but where we have no occasion to lament such chasms and voids, select short portions, calculated to give the most exact image of the character of the writer in question, should be read, with the necessary introduction, to place the scholar in a point of view whence he may behold and examine the author with his own eyes. This is what we denominated a practical review of Latin literature, but this is, at the same time, that department where we are entirely destitute of the necessary literary means. A collection of passages from those authors which are not read in the second period, especially of the poets, chosen and arranged with this view, is a great desideratum.

The oldest monuments of Roman literature, if we may call it so, are the fragments of the laws of the twelve tables, the composition of which is fixed in the year 303 and 304 of the city, or the year 450 and 451 before Christ. After this, there is a great blank in the literary history of Rome, until the period succeeding the second Punic war, which terminated in the year 201 before Christ, a space of nearly 250 years. At that time the Greek language and literature began to be known and admired in Rome, and this circumstance is to be borne in mind. In the same degree as the study and imitation of the Greek master works quickened the development of the Latin literature, it was the principal impediment to its developing itself naturally and originally. It was at this time that the Roman dialect (*sermo urbanus*,) superseded all other dialects, and under the influence of the Greek, became the written language. The dramatical attempts of *Livius Andronicus*, *Marcus Pacuvius*, and *Lucius Attius*, in tragedy, as well as of *Cn. Nævius*, (who is said to have made an experiment to transplant the ancient Greek comedy to the Roman soil, but failed entirely,) *Plautus* and *Terence*, in comedy, are all more or less close imitations of Greek patterns. The same spirit of imitation guided the Romans in their epic poetry. From *Ennius*, of whose numerous works we have but very scanty fragments, but who evidently exercised a powerful influence upon the improvement of the Latin language, and was, together with *Livius Andronicus*, the first who introduced the hexameter into their epic poetry, down to *Claudian*, all the epic poets are imitators of the great author of the *Iliad*. Both these species of poetry, the dramatic and epic, had never been elements of the national life of the Romans; we need not wonder, then, that all their productions in this form, wanted freshness and originality—they were the effects of luxury, not of a healthy nature. Notwithstanding these necessary defects, portions of the *Pharsalia* of *Lucan*, (especially the descriptions of characters in the first, second, fifth, and eighth books, and speeches in the first, second, and seventh, which are very good;) of the



*Argonauticon* of *Valerius Flaccus*; of the *Punica* of *Silius Italicus*, who did not even go to the fountain head of epic poetry, but was content to imitate Virgil; of the *Thebais* and *Achilleis* of *Statius*, and lastly of *Claudian*, ought to be read. The poem, *de nuptiis Honorii et Mariæ*, especially the introduction to it, (*in nuptias Honorii et Mariæ præfatio*,) is a fair specimen of the power of *Claudian*. The *Panegyris in Probinus et Olybrii fratrum consulatum*, or the *Panegyris de quarto consulatu Honorii Augusti*, are striking instances of the mean adulation and flattery; as well as *liber secundus in Rufinum*, or *liber primus et secundus in Eutropium*, of the virulent defamation, to which the noble muse of the epos had degenerated. It is, however, worth noticing, that the pieces mentioned last, are the most powerful of this poet.

Of the *fabulæ Attelanae* (*Livius* vii. 2,) a species of drama between tragedy and comedy, not even a fragment is left us; which is to be lamented so much the more, as these plays, both composed and performed by free-born youths, would afford us a deeper insight in the Roman genius in this department. But we may congratulate ourselves that we have a rich compensation for this loss in the abundant relics of a species of poetry nearly related to the preceding, the satire. Of the first attempts in this branch, indeed, of *Ennius* and *Pacuvius*, nothing has come down to us; and of the improved kind of satire by *Lucilius*, (who is said to have written 30 books of satires,) very slender fragments have reached us; but then *Horace* has been preserved to us, who, surely, indemnifies us for the loss of the poets just mentioned:

“Omne vafer vitium ridenti Flaccus amico,  
Tangit, et admissus circum præcordia ludit,  
Callidus excusso populum suspendere naso.”

These poems allow us to look deeper into the Roman character than any other, and, for this reason, the extracts from *Persius* and *Juvenal* can scarcely be too numerous.

Lyric poetry was almost the last branch which was transplanted from Greece to Rome. *Catullus*, the contemporary of *Cæsar* and *Cicero*, was soon superseded by *Horace*, in whom lyric poetry undoubtedly arrived at the pinnacle of perfection, and by *Tibullus* and *Propertius*. Of *Tibullus* we would recommend of lib. i. the eighth and tenth elegy, of lib. ii. the second, of lib. iii. the first, second, third, and fifth, of lib. iv. the fourth, fifth, eleventh, and fifteenth. We put *Propertius*, the greatest of all Roman elegiac poets, among the lyric poets, because it would carry us too far to mention the subdivisions of poetry. Whatever selection may be made from this poet, the eleventh of the third book, *Cornelia* to *Paulus*, should not be omitted. Some pieces of the *Sylva* of *Statius*, will serve to show the gradual decline

of lyric poetry, which was accelerated with the progress of time. That which had been the element of antique poetry, mythology, and religion, national manners and patriotism, was rapidly disappearing, or had already disappeared. In vain were the exertions of *Ausonius* and others, to retain and perpetuate the form of ancient poetry, the spirit of which had vanished. Though a man of learning, he was destitute of creative genius, so that *Heyne* justly remarks in speaking of him and his poems; "*Ausonii carmina a poetica vi, ingenii aliqua felicitate, sententiarum novitate multum absunt. Versificatoris nomen ei concesseris, non poetæ.*"

These exertions to resuscitate what had outlived itself, were so much more vain, as a new powerful spirit was stirring, which was first to prostrate the remnants of ancient Paganism, and build on its ruins a new edifice; we mean Christianity. Matter, form, and object were changed. No longer did national or mythological materials constitute the subject of poetry, but some of the few simple but grand ideas of Christianity; salvation, future judgment, resignation. Nationality had resigned its place to the purest cosmopolitism. The complicated structure of the antique verse gave way to rhyme, alliteration, and assonance. Poetry served no longer to gratify the taste of refined individuals, or kindle the patriotic sentiments of a nation, but to convey the prayers and praises of worshipping mankind up to heaven. However imperfect the poetical productions of this new spirit may be, if we examine them after the rules of criticism, yet they take hold of every feeling heart with a power, for which it is indeed difficult to account in the utmost simplicity of contents and forms. We add a few specimens.

*From a Hymn of Prudentius.*

"Jam mæsta quiesce querela!  
Lacrimas suspendite, matres!  
Nullus sua pignora plangat,  
Mors hæc reparatio vitæ est," etc.

"*The day of wrath,*" translated into English by Roscommon.

"Dies iræ, dies illa  
Solvat sæclum in favilla  
Teste David cum Sybilla.  
Quantus tremor est futurus,  
Quando judex est venturus,  
Cuncta stricte discussurus," etc.

*By Jacobus de Benedictis.*

"Lauda Sion salvatorem,  
Lauda ducem et pastorem  
In hymnis et canticis;  
Quantum potes, tantum aude,  
Quia major omni laude,  
Nec laudare sufficis," etc.

"Stabat mater dolorosa  
Juxta crucem lacrimosa,  
Dum pendebat filius,  
Cujus animam gementem,  
Contristatam et dolentem  
Pertransiuit gladius," etc.

We have run over, hastily, some of the fields of Latin literature, for the purpose of illustrating our ideas. Each of them should be followed out, beginning from its first appearance to its termination. If this has been done in such a manner as to have the judgment of the scholar unbiassed, which indeed depends chiefly upon a judicious selection of the passages intended to set forth, in a few touches, the character of the author, then the scholar will have obtained a correct general view of the whole extent of Latin literature, and be enabled to continue his private studies to advantage; the shelves, as it were, being prepared whereupon to deposite his classical stores in a systematic order.

By pursuing the plan sketched in the preceding pages, that will be accomplished, which we think instruction ought to accomplish. It ought to furnish the scholar with a thorough knowledge of the language, so as to enable him to read and write it correctly and easily; with a familiar acquaintance with its best works in the various departments; and with such a general knowledge of its literature as to know its extent; its riches and defects; its rise and its decline. To read all authors, or even the larger proportion, can never be the object of the school of instruction. Even if it were possible, it would be unreasonable. There are but few, whom their calling or inclination invites to enter on so extensive a course, and even to these the perusal of many authors will be a matter of curiosity rather than advantage.

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ART. IV.—*Encyclopædia Americana: a Popular Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, Literature, History, Politics, and Biography, brought down to the present times, including a copious Collection of Original Articles in American Biography, on the basis of the Seventh Edition of the German Conversations-Lexicon. Edited by FRANCIS LIEBER, assisted by E. WIGGLESWORTH. Philadelphia: Carey, Lea & Carey; 1829. Vol. I. pp. 616.*

CONSIDERING the variety of subjects the elder Pliny treats, in the work which has escaped the wreck of his other scientific and

literary labours, his *Natural History* may be deemed the earliest attempt at an *Encyclopædia*; and so it has been termed by the justice of a more learned age. Astronomy, pure mathematics, natural philosophy, botany, mineralogy, various branches of the medical science, mechanical, as well as elegant arts, and agriculture: such was the vast compass of his researches; and he has shed a vivid light over each of these wide and yet barren departments, by the deep insight of his powerful and scrutinizing mind, and a happy talent of describing not only minutely, but forcibly and graphically, every object he examined or contemplated. The declamatory tone, and the occasional obscurities for which he has been censured by La Harpe, cannot essentially diminish the merits of a naturalist, who was contemporary with Vespasian; the less, as he bears, in the opinion of the same critic, a comparison with Buffon, with no other inferiority, in some of his descriptions, than that of refined taste. But Pliny's *Natural History* has, above all, the unparalleled merit of showing the progress Science and the Arts had made, down to the period at which he wrote, and certainly so far it deserves, at any rate, the title of an *Encyclopædia*.

Alfarabius, one of the great lights of the Bagdad School, is said to have enriched the tenth century with an *Encyclopædia*, which, on account of a systematic subdivision of the various branches of knowledge, might be more justly compared to works of the same denomination, belonging to the literary history of the 16th and 17th centuries. Nothing, however, is known of this work, except the notice Casiri gives of it in his *Bibliotheca Arabico-hispana Escorialensis*.

Alstedius, a professor of philosophy and protestant divine, established at Herborn and Weissemberg, and whose principal literary merit has been expressed by the anagram of his name, "*Sedulitas*," published in 1620, a work in which he laid the basis of one worthy to be styled an *Encyclopædia*, and this appeared ten years afterwards, in two folio volumes. Esteemed by his contemporaries, mentioned with respect by Leibnitz, it is the chief title by which Alstedius is remembered, and it is some reproach to the authors of a recent *Encyclopædia*, that his name should be omitted. Neither he nor Alfarabius is mentioned in the work under review.

A century elapsed before a step was made towards the production of a work, exhibiting the whole circle of knowledge, in the form of a dictionary, although dictionaries of technical terms, and explanatory of particular sciences, had been long known. The *Lexicon Technicum* of Dr. Harris, the two first volumes of which were published in 1706, was the first advance towards a real *Encyclopædia*, inasmuch as it not only explained the terms of art, but the arts themselves. Still, the subjects of which it treats,



belonging mostly to the mathematical and physical sciences, it was far from fulfilling its intended purpose.

At length, in 1728, Mr. Chambers published his *Cyclopædia*, in two folio volumes, of which a fifth edition, now lying before us, was issued in 1761, with the motto:

“Floriferis ut apes in saltibus omnia libant  
Omnia nos—”

It is the first work in which knowledge is subdivided in alphabetical order, exhibiting, at the same time, the connexion and dependencies of its various branches and subdivisions. “His view,” he says, “was to consider the several matters, not only in themselves, but relatively, or as they respect each other; both to treat them as so many wholes, and as so many parts of some greater whole, their connexion with which to be pointed out by reference. So that by a course of references from generals to particulars, from premises to conclusions, from cause to effect, and *vice versa*, i. e., from more to less complex, and from less to more, a communication might be opened between the several parts of the work; and the several articles be, in some measure, replaced in their natural order of science, out of which the alphabetical order had removed them.”

Yet Chambers remained far from attaining his object, for the several ramifications are so much split, that one would seek in vain in his volumes for any thing like a substitute for separate treatises, or for more, under many heads, than short and unconnected elucidations, or mere definitions and incomplete explanations. On mathematical subjects, conclusions are given without demonstration or experimental details, and on the whole, Chambers principally excels his predecessors, by treating each science and art under a separate head, here in a general, and there in a more special point of view, connecting them by reciprocal references, real, or relating to things, or verbal and grammatical, according to a systematic division and subdivision of knowledge prefixed to the *Cyclopædia*.

Mr. Chambers's dedication of his work\* to the king, begins in the style of the time: “The Arts and Sciences humbly crave audience of your majesty.—The work I here presume to lay at your Majesty's feet, is an attempt towards a survey of the republic of learning, as it stands at the beginning of your Majesty's most auspicious reign. We have here somewhat of the boundary that circumscribes our present prospects, and separates the known from the unknown parts of the intelligible world.”—Mr. Chambers intended, as he states in the advertisement to the second edition, to publish rather a new work after an improved plan.

\* It would take a good portion of one of our pages, to give the whole title of the work.

But a bill was brought before Parliament, by which publishers of all improved editions would have been obliged to print the improvements separately ; and although it failed in the house of Lords, the booksellers relinquished the projected publication.

We transcribe from Mr. Napier's preface to the Supplement of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, the following judicious and temperate strictures on the work of Chambers :—

“That something was done, by this plan, to point out the links among connected subjects, disjoined by the alphabet, and to make its fortuitous distribution subservient to continued inquiry, cannot be questioned : but the inconveniences and defects, occasioned by the dismemberment of the sciences, could not possibly be remedied by any chain of references, however complete. The sciences can only be studied with effect, by being viewed in their appropriate state of unity and coherency ; and the term *Encyclopædia* cannot be applied, with propriety, to any work in which that method of treating them is not observed. Useful purposes may, no doubt, be served, by explaining the elements of a science, in the order of the alphabet : but it seems abundantly clear, that a work intended to include and to delineate the whole circle of knowledge, must fall greatly short of its professed object, if it fails to embody the truths of science, in a systematic form.”

The *Cyclopædia* was the fruit of Mr. Chambers's individual exertions, and in modern times, we remember no work which can be compared with it, for extent of learning, research and diligence, except Dr. Watts's *Bibliotheca Britannica*, the result of twenty years' labour. Five editions of it were published within eighteen years ; and it will, notwithstanding its deficiencies, ever stand as a creditable memorial of a vigorous and comprehensive mind, as a proof of literary industry, of which the epoch when it was published presents but few examples, and as the foundation, or model, of those works which we shall presently have occasion to mention.

At first, several dictionaries appeared, without any aim at a rivalry with Chambers's *Cyclopædia*, and destined only to supply the want of books of reference on mathematics and arts. Such were Barrow's *Universal Dictionary of Arts and Sciences*, in one folio volume, printed in 1751, and Owen's new and complete *Dictionary of Arts and Sciences*, in four octavo volumes, published in 1754, which was the first work of the kind written by several contributors, and the *Complete Dictionary of Arts and Sciences*, compiled under the direction of Rev. Henry Croker, Dr. Thomas Williams, and Mr. Samuel Clark.

Mr. Chambers's work did not produce less effect on the continent of Europe. It was translated into Italian, and was still more honoured, by becoming the basis of the French *Encyclopædia*, of which the first volume appeared in 1751. A French translation of it had been prepared for publication by Mr. Mills, an Englishman, and a German of the name of Sellius. But upon the suggestion of the Abbé Gua de Malves, it was resolved to divide the manuscript among several literati, in order to elabo-

rate the respective articles on a more extensive scale, that they might be combined into an *Encyclopædia*, at once more original, more comprehensive, and more scientific, than the English model and groundwork. The abbé having disagreed with the bookseller, in the outset of this undertaking, d'Alembert and Diderot became its principal managers. These gentlemen entered upon their task, by disdaining to publish the translation of Chambers's volumes, which, notwithstanding the merits they acknowledged it to possess, they deemed too much a mere compilation, principally from French writers, to be of any real use to their countrymen. They owned, however, at the same time, that they had distributed the translation among their coadjutors, whose co-operation it would have been difficult, if not impossible, to procure, had they not provided them with such a frame.

To correct and to extend the English *Cyclopædia*, especially in regard to science, was, however, but one and the most commendable motive of the undertaking of the two French academicians. They were animated by another impulse, which ultimately connected the execution of their enterprise with the great political conflicts of their country, and placed their names, in the opinion of not a few, among the authors of those terrible convulsions. "We shall principally endeavour," says d'Alembert in the Preface of the third volume, "to distinguish this dictionary by its philosophic spirit:" and in these few words he has revealed more, perhaps, than he meant to confess.

The history of the politico-literary *Encyclopédie*, is so curious, that we need not hesitate to detain our readers, by giving a condensed view of the various facts, scattered in a variety of memoirs, letters, and literary histories, which go to show how a scientific work may be perverted from its original end. It has often been said, that words are as powerful as actions, or as Mirabeau expressed it, "words are things:" a truth less needful, perhaps, of historical evidence, than that a literary and scientific enterprise may, with much plausibility, be considered as having been instrumental in one of the greatest political revolutions of modern times.

We hasten, however, to state, that we deem the suspicion unwarranted, that the *Encyclopædists* deliberately undertook to instigate the crimes and follies committed during the French revolution; or that, at the outset, they intended, as La Harpe asserts, to entrench themselves behind a bulwark of quartos, from which they could attack, in safety, the established authorities of church and state. It is plain enough, that an order of society, in which literary men had become a separate class, enjoying openly the privilege to assail, more or less directly, the existing institutions of their country, caressed and seared in the highest ranks of civil and ecclesiastical dignity, and by foreign sove-

reigns; to-day persecuted, vexed, exiled, or threatened, and to-morrow received with deference, or at least tolerated: it is plain, we say, that such a state of society was extremely perilous, not from the relations thus subsisting between literary men and the depositaries of political power, but from the circumstances whence such a condition arose.\* The fact is, that all classes, that the whole nation, Louis XV. included, contributed to the revolution. The clergy was degraded, by receiving into its highest hierarchy, men who had no other title to public consideration, than adventitious advantages; "mere accidents of accidents." The parliament, soon after having annulled the testament of Louis XIV. seemed to have lost, by that extraordinary exertion of independent energy, the sense of its high vocation, and the knowledge of its constitutional, or historical and admitted place in the political fabric; from a guardian of the law it had become the partisan of the Jansenists, and a bitter enemy of their adversaries, the Jesuits, and at last, had lost all credit by its quarrels with the Archbishop of Paris, and with the fanatics who were designated by the name of Convulsionists, the trials of Calas and Sirven, the unmeasured severity of which the Chevalier de la Barre was the victim, and the murder-like execution of the unfortunate Lally. A profligate woman dishonoured the throne, and ruled France, not only by her influence in the government, but by the example of her scandalous life. The ablest minister whom France could boast, at that epoch, Choiseul, was constantly obliged to pay deference to the paramour of the modern Sardanapalus. This statesman must be supposed to have seen the precipice, towards which France was rapidly advancing, when the king's mistress could not blind herself to the threatening symptoms, and was clear-sighted enough to give to a commanding general the following brief but speaking picture of the kingdom:—"What has become of our country? The parliament and the encyclopædists have completely changed it. When the forgetfulness of all principles leads to the denial of divine and earthly authority, (*'la divinité et le maître'*), nothing remains but the dregs of nature, and this is our case."

What, then, was really the influence of the modern philosophers in France? "The same," Mr. de Villemain justly ob-

\* "At that epoch," says Mad. de Stael, in her *'Considerations on the French Revolution'*, "authors did not seek to flatter the government, and they endeavoured, therefore, to please the public." The inference is hazardous enough; but the ingenuous authoress pushes her argument still further: "because it is impossible," adds she, "for the majority of men of letters not to follow one of these two lines, having too much need of encouragement to venture to brave, at the same time, public authority and public opinion." Madame de Stael, we dare say, was right in regard to a large proportion of the literati of France—but those of other countries would not have thanked her for so poor an estimate of literary integrity and independence.



serves, in his excellent lectures on French literature, "which the religious controversy exercised in England. Both preceded the civil discords : both attacked the ancient opinions upon which reposed that moral force which compels the multitude to obey the few." The distinctive characteristic of the later period was, however, the *universality* of the spirit of controversy or inquiry ; and with this the French nation was possessed.

While we are on this subject, we beg leave to translate a remarkable passage of a recent work,\* sufficiently recommended by the name of the author, Mr. Guizot, and which pictures, in a few lines, one of the most striking aspects of the political and social condition of which we are speaking :—

"Before this period," says that philosophic writer, "and especially during the 16th century, free inquiry was exercised in a special and limited field : its objects were religious questions alone, or sometimes religious questions blended with political ones, but its views were not universal. During the 18th century, on the contrary, the characteristic trait of the spirit of free inquiry was *universality* : religion, politics, pure philosophy, man and society, moral and material nature, every thing became at once a subject of study, doubt, and system : ancient learning was thrown into a state of confusion, and new sciences sprang into existence. This movement, although proceeding from one single impulse, extended itself in every direction. It had, moreover, an additional feature of singularity so great, that nothing like it had ever been witnessed : this consisted in its being exclusively speculative. In every previous great revolution, material forces had been combined with the speculative attempts : thus, for instance, in the 15th century, though the religious wars had begun with ideas, and discussions purely intellectual, they developed themselves almost immediately in practical events. The heads of the intellectual parties promptly became leaders of political factions, the realities of life identifying themselves with the operations of the mind. Such were the origin and progress of things during the English revolution. In that of France, however, the human mind is seen exerting its powers on all topics, which, when combined with practical interests, would necessarily have an immediate and most powerful influence on events ; yet still the managers and actors in these great discussions remained aloof from all active participation, like mere observing speculators, judging and speaking, without ever interfering in the course of the successive occurrences. The impulse of facts and external realities had, at no prior epoch, been so completely distinct from that of the mind. It was reserved for the eighteenth century to exhibit the first example of such a separation ; for the first time, the intellectual world unfolded itself independently of the practical. This is a most momentous fact, and one which had a prodigious influence. It gave to the prevailing ideas of the time, a strange tincture of ambition and want of experience. Never had philosophy made greater efforts to govern the world, and never had it been more a stranger to it. Such a state of things could not last : speculation unavoidably changed into action ; and the more the intellectual movement had been kept distinct from external events, the more their final meeting was discordant, and their conflict violent."

These remarks are in every respect applicable to the *Encyclopédie*. The projectors of this work had certainly in view the moral and political improvement, not only of their country, but of mankind. Their vanity, if not their better feelings, was flattered by such an enterprise. "If any thing," says La

\* Cours d'Histoire Moderne, par Mr. Guizot. Paris, 1828.

Harpe, "seems at first calculated to nourish in the human breast that self satisfaction, which is but too congenial to its nature, doubtless it is the mere conception of such a work as an *Encyclopædia*." But, from the form of the existing government, and in consequence of the vices which prevailed in its administration, the men in whose minds could arise so seducing and elevating a project, and who could indulge the hope of thus becoming universal instructors, had been kept distant from all active concerns in the political world, until the moment arrived when they suddenly found themselves authorized to assume, publicly, and, in some degree, under the auspices of the government, the task of accomplishing that design. The *Encyclopædists* were thus unconsciously, and almost unavoidably, thrown into conflict with those who had, on the contrary, acted rather than speculated; and from this circumstance they soon became objects of suspicion, and really dangerous to the state, and to all those who were interested in the maintenance of the existing order of things. Had the extent of their influence, and the ultimate consequences of their doctrines, been weighed by the whole nation, probably no other voice would have been heard in favour of the continuation of the *Encyclopædia*, than that of men who had infinitely less to fear than to expect from a general confusion, and a violent and arbitrary transfer of property.

Let us now cast a glance on the qualifications of the principal contributors to the *Encyclopædia*, and see whether by their moral qualities they were likely to temper the attack which it was in their power to make;—whether they were naturally inclined to moderation, prudent, forgetful of their personal interests, without any dangerous bias arising from party connexion, wise enough to suggest and contemplate convenient reforms alone, and patriotic enough to have constantly in view real wants and practical remedies.

Diderot was a selfish, vain, boisterous, unprincipled, inconsiderate man, so little experienced as to form intimate friendships, and profess exalted admiration, which he was afterwards obliged to retract and to change into aversion and vituperation, and so little of a real philosopher, as to believe that religious scepticism, and a violent hatred of every opinion planted in the human breast by education or by nature herself, could confer an everlasting title to universal gratitude and respect. He was perhaps the boldest of the philosophic faction, but he wanted the moral courage which belongs to virtue alone. His "*Philosophical Testament*," and "*Jacques le Fataliste*," however, are more than proofs of boldness and hardihood:—much depravity was indispensable, while insinuating the principles and doctrines there brought forward. Diderot, nevertheless, pretended that he was a believer, professed submission to the decisions of the

church, and a determination to die in its bosom. But, the same Diderot who had demonstrated the existence of God by a luminous strain of reasoning, was, in reality, an atheist and materialist. Such a man, in spite of the great activity of his mind, the variety of his talents, and the vivacity of his style, was, after all, but a sophist: and, considered in this light, it is no wonder that he accused governments of all the vices of our race, held up Seneca as the purest moral character, and wrote sentimental dramas, while, in his other writings and his conduct, he displayed any thing but generosity of mind, sensibility, or real sympathy for the sufferings of mankind. "Diderot," says La Harpe, "had sworn an eternal war against the morality, as Voltaire against the religious feelings of man."

D'Alembert was more a mathematician, than either a philosopher or a critic, though his preliminary discourse to the *Encyclopædia* is beautifully written, and ensures him a distinguished place among the writers of his time. His nature was more generous than that of Diderot; his character was more timid; although vain and sarcastic, he was not carried away either by his self-love or malignity; he was as little sincere as his coadjutor, in regard to religion, but contrived to conceal his scepticism, less from an artful and crafty disposition, than a love of ease and an innate aversion to violent measures. His friend, La Harpe, explicitly affirms in one place, that he was a sceptic in the greatest extent of the word, and aimed at nothing so much as to contribute to the destruction of revealed religion; and in another, that he hated priesthood more than revelation. Very different from Voltaire, who always professed a great contempt for Scripture and its poetry, d'Alembert was sensible to the sublimest beauties of the sacred books, and eulogized enthusiastically the great orators of the Gallican Church, Massillon, Bossuet, and Fenelon. He often expressed himself with deep feeling in regard to Christianity, and oscillated, in fact, between theism and revelation, attributing however more probability of truth to the former. He apparently refused to accept the splendid offers of the Empress Catherine, from the same impulse which rendered him a hypocrite in religion and in politics. Though ambitious, he did not aspire higher than to occupy the place which Voltaire held, before he left France, in the literary world; and to supersede for ever the harsh and rude Duclos, who, as perpetual secretary, had, before him, the charge of enlivening the Academy, on some occasions, with public discourses. Without his posthumous work—his correspondence—which, however, he intended to be communicated after his death to the world, his fierce hatred of religion might have remained unknown, as well as the cunning timidity with which he instigated and pushed Voltaire to hasten the extirpation of Christianity.

These two men were the principal architects of the new Babel, (not indeed of language but of thought,)—as the *Encyclopédie* has often been called. Confusion appears in the conception and execution of this literary enterprise. We do not find so much harm as La Harpe, in Diderot's having thrown into the article "*Encyclopédie*" most of the considerations and facts, which might as properly have been placed in the introductory discourse, but there is, throughout the whole work, so little method and symmetry, so many insidious hints, so many trifling attempts at witticism, so much egotistic garrulity, so much looseness, and an erudition sometimes so frivolous, that wherever Diderot might have placed his observations, they could not have saved the ponderous and ill-arranged volumes from the censure which even the excellent articles they contain are insufficient to disarm.

There occurred, in the progress of this *Encyclopædia*, several incidents extremely characteristic of those times—of France, of the men who then held in that country the helm of state, its ecclesiastical leaders, and its literati.

L'Abbé de Prades, one of the contributors to the *Encyclopædia*, defended, in 1751, in a disputation before the Sorbonne, the famous faculty or college of theology in the university of Paris, a thesis, in which, according to La Harpe, impiety was so strongly displayed, although craftily disguised by rhetorical forms, and the hand of Diderot so visible, that the latter found himself compelled to come forward with an apology for it, notwithstanding the difficulty of explaining satisfactorily to Catholic judges, a parallel between Christ's miracles and those of *Æsculapius*. The censors had been careless enough to suffer the publication of de Prades' lucubration; but, one of the divines who had just read it, rose, in the midst of the Sorbonne, and fulminated against the Abbé these words, never before heard in that assembly: "I defend the cause of Christ and religion against an atheist." *Causam Christi et religionis defendo contra atheum!* The matter being thereupon substantiated, it was decreed that there was enough to warrant a severe judgment. Nor did the Sorbonne alone take cognizance of the affair, but the civil judiciary deemed it a duty to bring the offender under the penalties of the laws against revilers of religion. The Abbé had time to make his escape, and to seek a refuge at the philosophic court of Berlin, where he however soon felt repentance, and published a formal recantation of his errors.

All the judicial and ecclesiastical authorities of France, and Pope Benedict XIV. himself having interfered in this affair, so much indignation, excited by a single contributor to the *Encyclopædia*, could not, then, fail to become fatal to the whole



work. The publication was suspended, when it had reached but the second volume; and the work being denounced to the Parliament, the privilege of publication was revoked. Yet the court soon tolerated again its clandestine continuation, though the article "*Authority*" should have been sufficient to awaken the suspicion and alarm of the government as to the hostile doctrines of which it was becoming the depository. La Harpe expatiates, in common-place strictures, on this weakness and inconsistency; but he forgot that in the public administration of France, the king was then really almost alone on the side of the expiring political order, and that Louis XV. himself had not entirely escaped the influence of the spirit of the age. Had the printing of Raynal's work, or of any other of the same tendency been prohibited, the presses of the neighbouring countries would soon have been busy in supplying the place of those of France, and no barrier, no army, would have been strong enough to impede their introduction into that kingdom. The inconsistencies for which the government is now upbraided by some writers, and the condescension which Malesherbes is censured for, were but the unavoidable consequences of a state of things already beyond the control of any minister, however virtuous and loyally attached to the crown and the cause of royalty. To use a famous expression of Lord Chatham, "the state had grown out of shape." Peter the Great, or rather the Colossal, as he ought to be called, "greater than his empire," prophesied the fate of the French monarchy, during his short visit at Paris, and the minority of Louis XV. "He exclaimed," says Louville, "that he grieved for France and its infant king, and believed the latter to be on the point of losing his kingdom through luxury and superfluities."

Another curious characteristic of the Encyclopædia, is the meanness with which slanderous attacks were made under false signatures. A comedy had been represented with great success, in 1760, in which the philosophers, and principally Jean Jacques Rousseau, were held up to ridicule, but it had already been excluded from the list of the acting pieces. Nevertheless, in the article *Parade*, violent invectives were inserted against the author of the drama, and a Count de Tressan put his signature to the diatribe. The man who was dishonest enough to lend his name for such a purpose, was afterwards strongly suspected not to have written it, although his titles were given at length:—Lieutenant-general of the King, Grand Maréchal des logis of the King of Poland, &c. &c. &c.

Grimm, the greatest literary gossip of that period, has made a disclosure, which Diderot would certainly have wished to prevent.

The first printer in ordinary of the king, Le Breton, and

his associate Briasson, were the sole proprietors of the work ; and from a fear lest they might suffer by the too hostile character it began to assume against the interests of the highest classes, they cut out every thing which they thought too bold, or "liable," as Grimm says,\* "to raise the clamour of the devout and make enemies to the work. Thus, on their own heads, and by their own authority, by far the greater number of the best articles appeared as fragments, mutilated and deprived of whatever was most precious in them ; nor did they concern themselves about the different parts of these mutilated skeletons being properly put together ; they left them either wholly unconnected, or united by morsels of the most absurd and incongruous texture. The whole extent of the injury done by so unexampled and barbarous a depredation will never be known, since the perpetrators of the crime burnt the manuscript as soon as the sheet was printed off, and left the evil without remedy. What may be advanced as very certain is, that Le Breton, clear-sighted as he may appear in matters of interest, in every other respect, is one of the greatest blockheads in all France." "This is," adds Mr. de Grimm, "the true key, though unknown to the world, of all the impertinences and contradictions that are to be found in the last ten volumes of the *Encyclopædia*." pp. 96-97.

We extract from the work just quoted, the following story, ascribed to Voltaire.†

"A servant of Louis XV. related to me, that one day the king, his master, was supping at Trianon with a private company, when the conversation turned, first upon shooting, and afterwards upon gunpowder. One of the company said, that the best powder was made with equal parts of saltpetre, sulphur, and charcoal. The duke de la Vallière, better informed, maintained, that to make good gunpowder, there must be one part of sulphur and one of charcoal, to five of saltpetre, dissolved with nitre, well filtered, well evaporated, and well crystallized.

"It is curious," said the duke de Nivernois, "that we amuse ourselves daily with killing partridges, in the park of Versailles, and sometimes with killing men, and being killed ourselves, upon the frontiers, without knowing precisely the composition which kills.

"Alas !" exclaimed Madame de Pompadour, "the case is pretty much the same with every thing in this world. I do not know of what the rouge that I put on my cheeks is composed, and I should be extremely embarrassed, if I were desired to explain in what manner the silk stockings that I wear are made."

"It is a great pity," said the duke de la Vallière, "that his majesty has confiscated our *Encyclopædia*, which cost us every one a hundred pistoles : we should soon find in them the solution of all these questions."

"The king then began to justify the confiscation. He had been informed that the twenty-one volumes in folio, which were to be found on the dressing tables of all the ladies, were the most dangerous things in the world to the kingdom of France, and he was desirous of ascertaining, himself, from his own ob-

\* Historical and Literary Memoirs and Anecdotes, selected from the correspondence of Baron de Grimm and Diderot. London, 1815. Vol. iii.

† Ibid. page 260.

servation, whether the thing was so or not, before he suffered the books to be read.

"After supper, he sent three of the servants, who had been waiting, to fetch a copy of the *Encyclopædia*, and they presently returned, each bringing seven volumes, which were so heavy, that they could with difficulty support the weight. The article 'powder' was first examined, when it appeared that the duke de la Vallière was right. Madame de Pompadour was next instructed in the difference there is between the ancient Spanish rouge, still used by the ladies in Spain, and that actually in vogue among the fair sex at Paris. She learned that the Greek and Roman ladies were painted with powder, from the murex, and that consequently our scarlet was the purple of the ancients; that there was more saffron in the Spanish rouge, and more cochineal in that of France. She found that her stockings were wove in a loom; and was in the utmost astonishment and delight, at the machine in which they were done. 'Oh! the charming book,' she exclaimed, 'Sire, you have then confiscated this magazine of every thing that is useful, that you yourself may possess it, and that you may be the only 'savant' in your dominions.'

"Every one of the company now began to seize upon a volume, as the daughters of Lycomedes scrambled for the trinkets brought by Ulysses. Every one found immediately whatever he looked for: those even who had lawsuits on their hands, were surprised to find there the decision of the case. The king read the definition of the right of his crown. 'Indeed,' said he, 'I know not why so much has been said against this book.'

"'Do you not see,' said the duke de Nivernois, 'that it is because the book is an excellent one? No exceptions are ever made against the meddling and the dull in any thing. If the women seek to turn a new-comer into ridicule, it is always because she is handsomer than themselves.'

"The rest of the company continued turning over the leaves, when the count de C\*\*\*\* said: 'You are too happy, sire, that under your reign there existed men capable of understanding all the arts, and of transmitting them to posterity. Every thing is to be found here, from the manner of making a pin, to that of casting your cannon; from the very least things to the greatest. Thank God for having raised up in your kingdom, those who have served the whole universe. Other nations must either purchase the *Encyclopædia* or pirate it. Take all my property, if you please, sire, but spare me my *Encyclopædia*.'

"'It is said, however,' replied the king, 'that in this work, so necessary, and so admirable, there is abundance of faults.'

"'Sire,' returned the count, 'at your supper there were two ragouts which were extremely defective: we did not eat them, yet we had excellent cheer. Would you have had all the supper thrown away, for the sin of these two ragouts?'—The king felt the force of what was said, and every one was permitted to resume his property. This was a glorious day."

This is, perhaps, a mere *jeu d'esprit*,—a burlesque story of Voltaire's invention; but true or false, it shows by what means the fears of the king were sought to be overcome, and the respect which he inspired among his courtiers and the philosophers; for we presume that it was widely circulated with such intentions, and no better feelings.

We have now dwelt long enough on the secret, and to a great degree, the scandalous history of the French *Encyclopædia*, and alluded to some of its greatest blemishes. The merits which are blended with them are sufficiently warranted by the names of some of its contributors; and the evil consequences it is supposed to have produced, are sufficient evidence that it is no common work. Villemain calls it "*un ouvrage qui ne porte aucun caractère de génie, mais qui eut une grande puissance.*" This is rather

too severe and too general. D'Alembert's preliminary discourse would alone ensure it a distinguished rank among the works most honourable to the human mind; for "with all its imperfections," as Dugald Stewart observes in his admirable Dissertation, prefixed to the Supplement of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, "it bears numerous and precious marks of its author's hand." Montesquieu says in a letter to d'Alembert:\* "J'ai lu et relu votre Discours préliminaire: c'est une chose forte, c'est une chose charmante, c'est une chose précise, plus de pensées que de mots, du sentiment comme des pensées, et je ne finirais point."

Voltaire, who furnished the articles "Eloquence," "Elégance," "Esprit," says, somewhere:—"J'y trouve des articles pitoyables, qui me font honte à moi, qui suis l'un des garçons de cette grande boutique." It is a remarkable fact, which rests on the authority of Montucla, the historian of mathematical science, and of Diderot,† that Bacon's works had little celebrity in France, before the *Encyclopædia* brought them into notice. A more general diffusion, and a greater relish for learning, were certainly produced by its first popularity. On the other hand, however, among minor defects, La Harpe refers to the article "Femme," as a specimen of the caricature-like cast the work bears in some parts; and the manner in which the contributors paid reciprocal compliments, is indeed as much out of place as ridiculous. The fact is, that d'Alembert and Diderot reckoned at the outset on better coadjutors than they were finally obliged to accept. After having flattered themselves with the co-operation of Montesquieu,‡ they were under the necessity, especially after the privilege of publication had been revoked by the government, to content themselves with contributions "de toute main,"—from all quarters,—from writers who were only anxious to promote the rapid completion of the general task. Discursiveness is, after all, perhaps, its most pervading fault: there are too many digressions, too many vain hypotheses and idle subtleties.

\* "Lettres familières."

† Preface, p. ix.

‡ It appears, from a letter of Montesquieu to d'Alembert, (*Lettres Familières*, Nov. 16, 1753,) that the author of the *Esprit des Lois*, had been requested to furnish articles on "Democracy" and "Despotism." He declined, under the pretence that he had already exhausted, on these subjects, the stores of his mind. "L'esprit que j'ai," adds he, "est une moule, on n'en tire jamais que les mêmes portraits: ainsi je vous dirais ce que j'ai dit, et peut-être plus mal que je ne l'ai dit." He led him however to hope, that he would contribute something of his own choice, which, he says, he would determine upon at Madame du Deffand's, by a glass of maraschino. He seemed at length suddenly to select the article "Taste," and observes that he might thereby prove the truth of the proverb; "difficile est propriè communia dicere." Fragments of the essay were after his death found among his papers.



Our strictures may appear too severe to one who has dwelt on the better parts of the *Encyclopædia*, of which there are undoubtedly many; and La Harpe, whom we have so often quoted, and who proved, against the end of his life, recreant to the philosophical sect, is certainly a suspicious authority: but we have in Diderot himself the severest censurer of the work, as may be seen in the following passages, as well as in many others of similar import.

“There are articles,” he says,\* “which have not the shadow of common sense.”—Il y a des articles, qui n’ont pas l’ombre du sens commun.—He owns that he wrote the article on “Composition in Painting,” without any sort of knowledge of the art, and even without the slightest pretension to the proficiency of an amateur.—

“Some parts of the *Encyclopædia*,” he elsewhere observes, “are inflated and exorbitantly diffuse: others are meagre, flat, dry, and jejune, (décharnés.) Sometimes we are like skeletons, at others we seem dropsical; we are alternately dwarfish and gigantic, colossal and mean: here erect and lofty, there misshapen and crooked. Add to these singularities a diction sometimes metaphysical, obscure, or over-refined, and more frequently careless, sluggish, and nerveless, and you will be tempted to compare the whole work to some monster of poetry, or perhaps to something yet more hideous.” \* \* \* “A good-natured man purchases our work, and being troubled with the cramp, turns forthwith to the article ‘Cramp;’ he finds the word, but is referred to ‘Convulsion:’ he looks for this, and is here directed to ‘Spasm,’ where after all he learns nothing about the cramp. This is, I confess, a most ridiculous neglect, and I have little doubt that we are guilty of twenty similar ones.”

To show with what insidiousness, and want of candour religious subjects are alluded to, in the same paper, with a view to escape immediate animadversion, yet, at the same time, to insinuate contemptuous impressions of Christianity, we translate the following lines:—

“To those who wish we had omitted theology, we reply that it is a science: that this science is very extensive, and very curious, and one that might have been rendered at least quite as amusing as mythology, which would certainly have been missed, had it been left out.”

Finally, as a specimen of the critical acumen of the same singular dissertation, it may be sufficient to mention, that Diderot calls Boileau a mere “versifier, incapable of appreciating the merit of Perrault:” Boileau, of whom the author of the *Pursuits of Literature*† says, with more knowledge of French literature than the French critic, “Boileau, the most perfect of all modern writers in taste and judgment. His sagacity was unerring; he combined every ancient excellence, and appears original even in the adoption of acknowledged thoughts and allu-

\* Article, “*Encyclopédie*.”

† Seventh edition, London, 1798, p. 111. See also what the author says of Boileau in the Introductory Letter, p. 33.

sions. He is the just and adequate representative of Horace, Juvenal, and Persius united, *without one indecent blemish*; and, for my own part, I have always considered him as *the most finished gentleman* that ever wrote."

All the above quoted passages, we repeat, are from Diderot himself, one of the editors of the Encyclopædia. They may indeed have the merit of frankness and self condemnation, but they afford no more real claim to forgiveness, than the confession, which flows without hesitation from the lips of a penitent, who is yet ready to relapse into sin on the first tempting occasion—who generally is prepared to confess the sin which he is not yet ready to commit, and is always as destitute of shame as of real contrition.

The motto of the work is,—

"Tantum de medio sumptis accedit honoris!  
Tantum series juncturaque pollet."

Professor Formey, the perpetual secretary of the Berlin Academy of science and belles-lettres, in some strictures on the Encyclopédie, to which he was himself a contributor, sarcastically observes, that the motto it really should have borne, is the well-known line,—

"Non bene junctarum discordia semina rerum."

That academician proposed a Prussian Encyclopædia, or several Encyclopædias, of which the members of the academy of Berlin were to be the authors. This was under the reign of the great Frederic, in 1770, while, if we are not mistaken, Maupertuis was the president of that learned body. However, no work of the kind has as yet appeared in Prussia, either in French, which was the favourite language of Frederic, or in German.

The number of subscribers to the Encyclopédie amounted to 4300. Diderot's pecuniary recompense, as one of the principal editors, was 2500 livres for each of the seventeen volumes, besides 20,000 livres which were paid to him at the beginning. Four editions of the work were published in a short interval, out of France. A supplement in 4 vols. folio followed, from 1776 to 1777, and an index in 2 vols. in 1780.

A few years after the conclusion of the principal part of this work, the Encyclopædia Britannica was commenced: the first edition, in 2 volumes, was completed in 1771, and was distinguished from those previously published in England, less by its execution than by its more philosophical plan. The sciences were "treated compendiously in the form of systems, under their general denominations; the technical terms and the subordinate heads being also explained, when something more than a reference to the proper part of each system was required, in the order of the alphabet."\* The editor and principal compiler of

\* See Napier's Preface.

this edition was Mr. Smellie, a man of respectable abilities, although a mere printer by profession.

The second edition, extending to ten volumes, appeared between 1778 and 1783, and was chiefly remarkable for the additions of the two departments, History and Biography. The third edition, in eighteen volumes, published in 1797, contained a valuable exposition of physical science. Another edition, increased by two volumes, followed in 1810, and was enriched by the contributions of Professor Wallace on pure mathematics. The fifth edition was the offspring of the great demand for the work. While it was in progress, Mr. Constable of Edinburgh became the principal proprietor, and he soon determined upon publishing a Supplement, worthy of the attention and assistance of the literary world, with the co-operation of Dugald Stewart and Prof. Playfair. Mr. Napier, from whom we have borrowed the preceding details, was intrusted with the superintendence of the Supplement, and to his preface we must refer for more circumstantial particulars of that as yet unrivalled work. The Supplement is enriched, among other mathematical articles, with some furnished by Professor Leslie, Dr. Thomas Young, Biot, and Arago. Dr. Th. Thomson has furnished articles on the chemical arts and manufactures; Professor Jamieson those on mineralogy and geology, Dr. Ellis and Sir James Edward Smith, those on botany, and some of the most distinguished men in England on various other branches. We cannot, however, forbear specifying the articles of Mr. Jeffrey on "Beauty," of Mr. Mill on "Education," "Jurisprudence," "Law of Nations," "Prison Discipline," "Liberty of the Press," and "Economists;" of the Rev. Mr. Blanco White on "Spain;" of Mr. Barrow on "Fisheries," and on "China," and Dr. Young's biographical contributions, Mr. Allen's biographical sketch of Fox, and lastly, though never the least, Sir Walter Scott's essays on "Chivalry," "Romance," and the "Drama." Whoever has read these compositions, must always remember them with delight, and feel inclined to recommend their perusal.

The most striking defect of this *Encyclopædia* is, perhaps, the omission of articles, to which the reader is led by references in the work.

According to Mr. Napier, no books have a greater circulation in England, next to works of fiction and periodical journals, than *Encyclopædias*; and this proves, indeed, a general and considerable advancement in information, and speaks strongly in favour of those performances.

Of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, an edition was published in the United States, by the late Mr. Dobson, and the undertaking, we have reason to believe, was successful.

Messrs. Parker and Delaplaine, of Philadelphia, published an

edition of Dr. Brewster's New Edinburgh Encyclopædia. According to the title page the work is "improved for the greater satisfaction and better information of the people of the United States, in the civil, religious, and natural history of their country, in American biography, and in the great discoveries in mechanics and the arts." We should be carried far from the limits of a paper like the present, were we to enter into an examination of each of the works to which a general survey might carry us. But where so much was held out, as in the few lines we have quoted, it is no wonder that disappointment becomes proportionate to engagements not sufficiently weighed when they were contracted.—The edition is not as yet completed.

There is also an American edition of Dr. Rees's Cyclopædia, in forty-one volumes quarto, with six volumes of plates, published at Philadelphia, and bearing, like the preceding, no date. The work was commenced in England in 1802. The author had acquired reputation by his edition of Chambers's Dictionary, and he associated with himself, in his new enterprise, several men of eminence, of whom it may be sufficient to mention Barlow, Bonycastle, Lawrence, Brande, Sir Humphrey Davy, Ivory, and Cavallo. But the work wants unity and symmetry, and partakes of the defects which we have noticed in speaking of Chambers's Cyclopædia. The various branches of science and art are mangled and broken into minute fragments, dispersed through the ranks of the alphabet in meagre singleness, supporting themselves, and brought into connexion, merely by incessant and repeated references. Dr. Rees professes, in his preface, his disapprobation of separate dictionaries for each particular science, after the plan of the *Encyclopédie*, and of distinct treatises comprised in a dictionary of one alphabet. "In conformity to our proposed plan," says he, "it has been our endeavour to give under each distinct head of science, an historical account of its rise, progress, and present state, concisely, and yet as comprehensively as our limits and our sources of information would allow; to refer to those articles, in which the discussion of them occurs, and to point out such publications as afford further information. References of this kind are introduced under each separate article, wherever they are thought to be necessary and useful; and thus the reader is able to form his judgment concerning the authorities, upon which the compilers of the several articles depend, and if he shall have opportunity or inclination, he may recur to them for himself."

Thus in the article, *Algebra*, references are made to "*Addition, Subtraction, Multiplication, Division, Fractions, Involution, Evolution, Equation, Series and Surd*; see also, *Application of Algebra to Geometry, Binomical Theorem, Construction of Equations, and Reduction of Equations.*"



We need only refer the reader to the article *Algebra*, in the Encyclopædia Britannica, to show the difference, and the comparative advantage of these two methods.

The publisher of the American edition of Dr. Rees's Cyclopædia, proposed to add to the value of the work, by corrections and additions, principally in American Biography. We accordingly seek the word *Allen*, and we find seven individuals mentioned, most of them Englishmen, two of them engravers, "Francis Allen, an obscure engraver of Lubeck, who flourished in 1652," but nothing is said of Ethan Allen, so remarkable for his sufferings during the war of independence, and his enterprising but haughty mind, and so unfortunately renowned for his religious infidelity. We beg the reader to compare the article "Samuel Adams," with the one in the work we are reviewing; and John Adams is altogether omitted in the American edition of Rees's Cyclopædia. In this latter, *Alabama* occupies about eighteen lines, whereas in the recent publication it fills more than a whole page, in two columns of sixty-two lines. Of Arnolds, there are five mentioned in Rees's Cyclopædia: Arnold, of Breseia, Nicholas Arnold, Godfrey Arnold, Arnold of Hildesheim, Arnold of Villanova, and Arnold the musical composer, who fills two enormous columns: but not a word has been added by the American editor, respecting Benedict Arnold, one of the most singular characters of American history. We look at the Barlows, and we find William Barlow, a divine; his son, also a divine; Thomas Barlow, a bishop; and Francis Barlow, a painter of beasts: but we seek in vain for Joel Barlow. We find, too, nothing in regard to Joshua Barney, nor John Barry, although Dr. Rees gives biographical notices of Edward Barry, a physician, and Girald Barry, a divine of the 12th century.

Till 1796, German literature possessed but one work of the nature of that under review;\* this was the *Dictionary for Conversation and Gazettes* by Hubner, and as its title sufficiently indicates, was destined to minister to an inferior order of intellectual demands. In 1796, Dr. Löbel conceived the plan of a work, better adapted to the more diffused information and general intercourse of the several classes of society, and to the increased development of the various branches of knowledge, but yet confined mainly to those subjects, which are of universal interest and common use in practical life. By this plan, the several sciences were not to be treated at equal length, nor was any complete and systematic treatise to be furnished of any, and the work was professedly destined to afford only a glimpse into the several provinces of learning. Dr. Löbel died shortly after-

\* We say this upon the authority of Mr. Brockhause; for Diderot refers to a "Great German Encyclopædia," which we have never seen.

wards, and it was not until 1807, that five volumes of his projected work were published by Mr. Brockhause, an intelligent and very enterprising bookseller at Leipzig. A new edition appeared in 1812, of which the publisher was, at first, the only editor, but which was completed by the assistance of Dr. Hain, who continued in this business till 1820. The principal object of this edition, was to extend and to improve the former, and to add largely on biography, modern history, political science and economy, moral and religious philosophy, law, classical and modern literature, archæology, anthropology, mathematics, commerce, natural history, and military science. This edition, and the two following, consisted of ten volumes, and succeeded each other within the space of no more than six years. A fifth edition was issued in 1820, of which three reprints, with some improvements, were sold so rapidly, that in 1822 a new edition became necessary. In the interval of these publications, many changes had occurred in the political and social order of society, as well as in the intellectual world. Biography especially required important additions. The publisher determined, therefore, to procure an edition adequate to the present state of science, arts, and literature—almost new in contents and form, and which should contain next to what might be of a constant importance, all that was new and essential. Two additional volumes were thought to answer these purposes. This was the basis of the ten volumes composing the sixth edition, which was begun between 1822 and 1823, and of the three parts of the “New Continuation” or supplement; but the conclusion of the latter, on being suspended by the death of the editor, was not given to the public, till an additional one had been procured in the person of professor Hasse, coadjutor to Dr. Hain. Under these new conductors, more attention than before was paid to passing events, and to the new publications in most of the modern languages.

The editors acknowledge that they have availed themselves in the performance of their task, of several English works; the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, and those of Brewster, Nicholson, Gregory, and the *Metropolitan*; of the *Edinburgh Gazetteer*, the *Biographical Dictionaries* of Aikin and Chalmers, the *Annual Register*, the principal *Reviews* and *Literary Magazines* of England and Scotland, the *Annual Biography* and *Obituary*, and the “*Public Characters of all Nations.*” Of French works, they mention the following; *Le Dictionnaire de Bayle*, *l’Encyclopédie*, *la Révue Encyclopédique*, *le Dictionnaire Historique*, *le Dictionnaire des Sciences Médicales*, *le Dictionnaire des hommes vivants*, *la Galerie des Contemporains*, *l’Annuaire Historique*, *les Tablettes universelles*, and *la Biographie nouvelle des Contemporains*. They furnish the list of their numerous coad-

jutors, whom it would, however, be useless to mention in this country, whatever celebrity they may have in their own. They, finally, profess to have freed the fifth and the following editions of all exaggerations and personal hostilities, and to have treated religious subjects with an enlightened liberality, without falling, however, into indifference.

The seventh edition was undertaken, after twenty thousand copies of the two volumes of the Supplement to the preceding edition had been sold, and for the incorporation of which, and the necessary additions, the number of volumes was augmented from ten to twelve.

This work, of which, in its several editions and reprints, eighty thousand copies were issued, has been translated into Danish, Swedish, and Dutch. A French translation is now preparing at Brussels. To this enumeration may be added, several piratical editions, published in Germany, in the original language.

Lastly, the work contains twelve thousand articles, of which the editors confess all may not be equally interesting, accurate or elaborate; they nevertheless do not shrink, they say, from the fair judgment of the impartial and the intelligent, capable of forming a just idea of the magnitude of such a work, and they conclude their remarks with the words of Scaliger; "*Lexicographis et Grammaticis secundus post Herculem labor.*"

We proceed now to notice the purpose and method with which the American translation has been undertaken by the publishers.

A prospectus was widely circulated, more than a year ago, announcing that this translation would be the more useful to the American public, as the biographical department and the law articles would be treated with a more special view and application to this country, than could have been contemplated in the German original. In the latter, it is true, a great number of living characters are mentioned; but the remarkable men of America, of present and past times, cannot be expected to fill so large a space in a foreign, as in a national work.

It will not be out of place to observe, that since Moreri's Biographical Dictionary, which appeared in 1673, and which Jeremy Collier translated into our language, the English continued for a time to derive from French sources, their best information and materials in this department. Dr. Birch founded his general, critical, and historical dictionary, on that of Bayle. The *Biographia Britannica* was, among the English, the first original work in that branch. In 1762, appeared the English General Biographical Dictionary, which was completed, in 1817, in thirty-eight volumes octavo, and goes by the name of Chalmers'. The eight quarto volumes of Dr. Aikin and Enfield

are, next to the latter work, the most copious dictionary in English of general biography, and we have seen lately mentioned, somewhere, with much praise, a work in two volumes, by Messrs. Hunt and Clarke, but which has not as yet fallen under our eye. Much remains to be done in this branch, were it but to reach the height attained in it by the French, in recent times.

In looking over the volume before us, we find that it promises well in this respect. It affords also a considerable increase of geographical articles on America. Others, that can have but little interest out of Germany, have been omitted, according to the original plan of the editors, who, together with the publishers, we have little doubt, wish earnestly to fulfil all the other engagements they have entered into with the country in these very comprehensive words: "In all cases, this information is brought down to the present time, thus giving the work a very decided advantage over even the very extensive *Encyclopædias* heretofore published in this country."

In dwelling at such length on the history of the great *Encyclopædias* published in Europe, we had mainly in view to call attention to the magnitude and the difficulties of such works. The word *Encyclopædia* is a mighty title, and we think that the volume before us would have lost nothing of its real value, had it only its second: "Popular Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, Literature, History, and Politics." We are aware that the seventh edition of the German original, from which this translation has been made, is also called *Encyclopædia*, and that the translation, with the contemplated additions, might, perhaps, still better claim this denomination; yet the preceding editions were not less successful, for bearing a more modest and exact one.

The same reproach may be made to the *Encyclopædia Perthen-sis*, which is a mere compilation, though certainly not without considerable merit as a book of reference. It is more copious than the *Encyclopædia Americana*, as may be, without examination, inferred from the circumstance, that the former consists of twenty-three volumes, while the present work is limited to twelve.

We adhere to the opinion of Mr. Napier, in regard to the true character of an *Encyclopædia*. It is said, that in the defence of Dhuboy against the Mahrattas, when Mr. Forbes and the commanding officer wanted the assistance of artillery officers and engineers, they found in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* sufficient information to strengthen the ramparts, and make good use of some old guns; and especially that the plates were of great utility to the Hindoos. Now such services must not be expected from the work before us. The publishers disclaim, in their prospectus, any other pretensions than we readily believe they are



able to fulfil, and they speak of their publication in terms to which we fully subscribe.

“Books treating of particular branches, such as gazetteers, &c. were of too confined a character; while voluminous Encyclopædias were too learned, scientific, and cumbersome, their articles being usually elaborate treatises, requiring much study or previous acquaintance with the subject discussed. The object of the conductors of the *Conversations-Lexicon* was to select from every branch of knowledge, what was necessary to be known by a well-informed man, and to give popular views of the more abstruse branches of learning and science, so that their readers might not be incommoded, and deprived of pleasure or improvement, by ignorance of facts or expressions occurring in books of conversation. Such a work, it is obvious, must be of great utility to every class of readers.”

We are glad to observe that Professor Ticknor, one of the distinguished authorities adduced by the publishers in behalf of their proposal, clearly appears to coincide also with us in opinion. “The work seems to me,” he observes, “to be suited in a particular manner to the present condition and wants of this country, because it contains more of that information which is useful and interesting to well-educated persons of all classes, than any other work with which I am conversant.” Mr. Everett says, “It is somewhat of the nature of an Encyclopædia, intended, however, for convenient and popular use.—The alterations proposed by Dr. Lieber, seem to me calculated to render it still more valuable in this country, and with them it will be, in my opinion, the best book for convenient general reference in the English language.”

Indeed, the genius and the demands of this country, are to bring learning to the level of universal usage: to *republicanize*, if we may use that word, science and art, instead of considering them as the exclusive privilege of the learned. Gray’s unfavourable opinion of Encyclopædias, (and Scaliger, Salmasius and Huet, had condemned before him all dictionaries and abridgments,) arose perhaps from a sort of aristocratic spirit, carried into the level republic of letters. The most republican nation may well accept favourably works of a free and cosmopolitan character.

We shall exemplify the merits of the work before us, by giving a few specimens, taken from different departments.

The manner of ascertaining the merits of the execution, is first to look at the exactness of the translation; and, secondly, to examine it with reference to alterations and additions.

We have carefully compared the following article in both languages, and, except a few slips, the translation is good, and enlarged by a valuable addition. We must moreover observe, that the specimen we give is not the very best in point of style, it being selected rather for its interest with relation to the great political events of the present time.

"**ALI**; pacha of Yanina (Tepeleni), generally called *Ali Pacha*;\* a bold and crafty rebel against the Porte; an intelligent and active governor of his province; as a warrior, decided and able; as a man, a very fiend. His life is a curious exemplification of the state of the Turkish empire. He was born at Tepeleni, in 1744, of a noble family, which stood at the head of an independent tribe, the Tocides; and was the grandson of a bey named by the Porte. His early life was unfortunate, but his extraordinary strength of mind, which shrunk from no danger nor crime, united with great address, raised him to princely independence. The neighbouring pacha had stripped his father of all his possessions. After his death, his mother, a warlike and cruel Albanian, placed her son, then sixteen years old, at the head of her dependants. He was defeated and taken prisoner; but the Curd pacha was so much struck with his beauty and vivacity, that he set him at liberty, after chastising him. A. then commenced robber, but was so unfortunate that he fled into the mountains, where, to keep himself from starving, he pawned his sabre. In this situation, his mother scornfully advised him to put on a woman's garment, and serve in the harem. In a second attempt at plunder, he was wholly defeated, and concealed himself in a ruined building, where, brooding over his fate, he sat, unconsciously pushing up the ground with a stick. He struck something hard, and found a chest containing gold. With this treasure he raised 2000 men, gained his first victory, and returned in triumph to Tepeleni. From this time he was continually fortunate, but, at the same time, false and cruel. On the day of his return, he murdered his own brother, whom he thought guilty of treachery, and confined his mother to the harem, under pretence of her having poisoned the deceased, where she soon after died from grief and rage. A. now continued his robberies, regained the favour of the Porte by assisting in the subjugation of the rebellious vizier of Scutari, and possessed himself of the estates which had been taken from his father, as well as of some Grecian cities. He then attacked the pacha Selim of Delvino, who was obnoxious to the Porte, and caused him to be beheaded, by which means he became his successor. At length the divan, in which he had obtained great influence by bribery, named him lieutenant of the dervendgi pacha, whose duty it was to preserve the highways secure; but, instead of attending to the duties of his office, A. sold commissions, in the name of the grand signior, to the richest bands of robbers, and thereby gave them legal authority to plunder. The dervendgi pacha and his lieutenant were now deposed, but A. purchased anew the favour of the prime minister. He rendered such important services to the Porte with his bold Albanians, in the war with Russia and Austria (begun 1787), although he carried on a secret correspondence with prince Potemkin, that the Porte named him pacha of Tricala in Thessaly. He immediately possessed himself of the city of Yanina, by showing a forged firman, which gave him the city and the citadel, and then compelled the inhabitants to sign a petition to the sultan, requesting him to give them A. for a governor. He likewise compelled them to pay him a large sum of money, with which he bribed the divan, who granted the request. He afterwards entered into an alliance with Buonaparte, who sent him engineers to build him fortifications; but when Napoleon was defeated in Egypt, those places on the coast of Albania, which had belonged to the Venetians, and were now under the dominion of the French, were seized by A. Parga (q. v.) alone made a successful resistance. But he contrived that, in the treaty between Russia and the Porte, in 1800, all the Venetian places on the main land (and, therefore, Parga) should be surrendered to the latter power. He then attacked the brave Suliotes (q. v.), and conquered them in 1803, after a three years' war. The

\* See Volumes x. and xviii. of the *North American Review*, for two extremely interesting accounts of Ali. The facts they contain, were obviously collected in the country so long tyrannized by that treacherous and sanguinary Pacha, and evince the close observation of a penetrating mind, favoured by fortunate and uncommon opportunities.

Porte now made him governor of Romania, where he continued his system of oppression still more openly than before. He then revenged on the inhabitants of Gardiki an injury which they had done to his mother forty years before, by putting to death 739 of the descendants of the perpetrators, they themselves being all dead. Security and quiet now reigned in his dominions; the roads were well constructed; commerce flourished; so that European travellers, with whom A. was glad to converse (see Hughes' *Travels in Greece*), acknowledged in him an active and intelligent governor. In 1807, he entered again into an alliance with Buonaparte, who sent him M. Pouqueville, as consul general, and from this time his dependence on the Porte was merely nominal. His object in this alliance was, to have Parga and the Ionian islands included in the peace of Tilsit. Failing to attain this end, he made an alliance with the English, and gave them many advantages; whereupon Parga was restored nominally to the Porte, but in reality to A. He afterwards caused it to be inserted in his gazette, that Maitland, who was the British lord high commissioner of the Ionian islands, had received from the Porte, at his recommendation, the order of the crescent. When A. thought himself strongly fixed in his power, he caused some of the *capitani* (q. v.) of the Greek Armatolicks, who had hitherto rendered him assistance, to be murdered (among them, the father of Ulysses, the famous chief), and had the murderers, also, put to death, that he might not be known as the author of the crime. At length, in 1820, the Porte determined to crush him. Ismail Pascho Bey, with 5000 Turks, and supported by the *capitani*, who brought 10,000 soldiers to his standard, advanced against him. The Greeks surrounded his positions in the passes of the mountains, so that he was compelled to throw himself, with all his troops, into the citadel of Yanina, well provided with every thing. From hence he set Yanina on fire. Pascho Bey had no ordnance fit for besieging the city, and was suspected by the Porte, because he had called the Christians to his assistance. The Porte therefore gave the chief command to Kavanos Oglu. This commander dismissed the *capitani* and their bands, with cruel threats, compelling them to make restitution to the Turks, for the loss which they had before occasioned them. Hereupon they went over to A., especially after they beheld the insurrection of the Hetaria, and aided him in the field against the Turks before Yanina. Kavanos Oglu could then do nothing against the rebels. The valiant Beba Pacha, his successor, died suddenly, after the capture of Arta, which Veli, A.'s son, had defended. The savage Khurschid Pacha, of the Morea, who was hated by all the Greeks, now advanced against the city with 12,000 men. But every attack was repulsed by A.'s brave troops, and the *capitani*, strengthened by the Suliotes, suddenly attacked the Turkish camp. Immediately the Hetaria (q. v.) called all Greece to arms. The Turks were now compelled to throw themselves into the strong places, and Khurschid retreated, Aug. 1821, with the remains of his army, out of Epirus into Macedonia. The Albanians alone, whom A. had beguiled with empty promises, left the tyrant. Khurschid Pacha attacked Yanina with a new army. The Greeks gave up A.'s cause for lost. He then determined, persuaded, perhaps, by his wife, Wasilika, who was a Greek, to treat with Khurschid. On receiving assurances, confirmed by an oath, that his property and his life should be spared, he surrendered his fortress to the pacha, Feb. 1, 1822, and retired to his summer-palace in the lake of Yanina. Here Khurschid's lieutenant, Mehmet Pacha, made known to him the sentence of death pronounced against him by the sultan. A. put himself on his defence, but was cut down, with six companions. This happened Feb. 5, 1822. The head of the rebel was sent to Constantinople. The Porte took possession of A.'s treasures. His sons, Veli and Muchtar Pacha, had come into the power of the Turks, in 1820, when the strong places of A. were taken, and lived afterwards in exile in Asia Minor. But attempting, by means of a Greek disguised as a dervise, to form a connexion with the party of their father, they were executed in Aug. 1821. A.'s grandson obtained from the Porte, in 1824, permission to retire to Larissa with A.'s widow, Wasilika. Pouqueville, in his *Histoire de la Régénération de la Grèce*, vol. i., paints a dreadful picture of A.'s barbarity, falsehood and love of revenge. He says that A. caused a Greek lady, Euphrosyne, and fifteen other women, to

be thrown into the sea, because they appeared to have too much influence over his son Veli. [Since his mother was an Albanese and his father a Turk, from this double relationship, he seized on all property left by persons dying, on pretence that the testator was his relation, by the mother's side, if he happened to be a Greek, or on his father's side, if a Turk. In this way A. amassed vast quantities of furniture and utensils, and occasionally held a market for the sale of these effects. A Jew was his treasurer. If he saw a beautiful maiden whom he wished to possess, his executioner, who was always at his side, went to the parents and said, "Your daughter has pleased Ali;" whereupon the daughter was sent to him, or the whole family were obliged to fly. The writer of this knows two families who were compelled to fly in this way. He took possession, in the same summary mode, of every thing which struck his fancy. This favourite of fortune had great endowments from nature.\*] He united a remarkably enterprising spirit with equal penetration; an extraordinary knowledge of men and things with determination and courage; great firmness with great adroitness. But he was false, suspicious, implacable and blood-thirsty from ambition and avarice; every means pleased him alike, provided that it led him to his object with quickness and safety. The dissensions of his enemies, the corruption of the divan, and the political weakness of the Porte, were the corner-stones on which this modern Jugurtha built up his ephemeral greatness."

The beginning of the article "Algebra," is so much changed for the better, that we think proper to translate, literally, the original, and to exhibit it with the one inserted in the American publication, to enable the reader to determine upon the merit of both:—

(*In the original.*) "‘ALGEBRA.’ The terms Algebra and Analysis, are often employed as synonymous. But ‘Analysis’ is the general exposition and development of the combination of magnitudes by calculation; whereas Algebra confines itself to the consideration of equations, (the symbolic forms of these combinations,) and by means of them the extraction of the known from the unknown quantities, and the instrument (or what after the preceding explanation may be called the grammar) of which it avails itself to that end, is furnished by the *literal Arithmetic*. The word Algebra,† derived from Gebr, the name of its propagator, an Arabian who lived at Seville in the nineteenth century, and the Arabic particle ‘Al’ is, therefore, according to Bezout’s definition, a language into which certain propositions are translated, to be combined according to the rules which this language indicates, and thus leads, by the discovery of the results of these combinations, to conclusions which it would be difficult, and in some cases even impossible, to obtain by any other process."

In the American work, the definition of Algebra is as follows:

"Algebra is a general method of resolving mathematical problems by means of equations, or it is a method of performing the calculations of all sorts of quantities by means of general signs or characters. Some authors define algebra as the art of resolving mathematical problems; but this is the idea of analysis, or the analytic art in general, rather than of algebra, which is only one species of it. In the application of algebra to the resolution of problems, we must first translate the problem out of common into algebraic language, by expressing all the conditions and quantities both known and unknown, by their proper characters, arranged in an equation, or several equations, if necessary, and treating the unknown quantity as if it were a known one: this forms the composition. Then the resolution, or analytic part, is the disentangling the unknown quantity from the several others with which it is connected, so as to retain it alone on one side of the equation, while all the known quantities are collected on the

\* The lines enclosed in brackets are an addition.

† The etymology is not so certain as it might appear from this passage.



other side, thus obtaining the value of the unknown. This process is called *analysis*, or *resolution*; and hence algebra is a species of the analytic art, and is called the *modern analysis*, in contradistinction to the *ancient analysis*, which chiefly regarded geometry and its application."

The advantage is manifestly on the side of the book we are reviewing.

The superiority of the algebraical language over all others, is also better explained. We notice the omission of the following passage, less on account of its importance, than to fill up the measure of the parallel we have desired to present:—"The precision, clearness, brevity, and generality of algebra, are so great, that a problem needs only to be expressed by the proper signs or characters to procure not only the required result, but many others of no less interest, and which sometimes disclose such as were the least expected."\*—More commendation, but not too much, is bestowed in the translation than in the original on Mr. Hirsch's "Algebraical Problems."

Accident more than design has determined our choice for a specimen from natural history, on the article "Alligator," which, in the original, consists of these few lines:—"Alligator, or Caiman, belongs to the order of lizards, and is considerably rounder and smoother on the body and the tail than the Crocodile: it is also inferior to it in length. Its eggs are smaller, and it belongs to middle America. The Brazilians are skilful in tanning alligator skins."

It would be derogatory to the distinguished and interesting author of the following article, to bring it into a comparison with the preceding. We quote it at its full length,† to show what a superiority the American publication promises to gain by contributions from the same quarter:—

"ALLIGATOR; the name of a large reptile, of the *saurian* or lizard order, derived, according to Cuvier, from a corruption of the Portuguese word *lagarto*, equivalent to the Latin *lacerta*. The alligators or caimans form the second subgenus of Cuvier's crocodile family, and belong to the southern parts of the American continent. Two species, very numerous in these regions, are well known; the spectacled caiman, *crocodilus sclerops*, most common in Guiana and Brazil; and the pike-nosed A. (*C. lucius*), frequenting the southern rivers and lagoons of the U. States.—In the water, the full-grown A. is a terrible animal, on account of its great size and strength. It grows to the length of 15 or 20 feet, is covered by a dense harness of horny scales, impenetrable to a musket ball, except about the head and shoulders, and has a huge mouth, armed with a fearful row of strong, unequal, conical teeth, some of which shut into cavities of the upper jaw-bone. They swim or dart along through the water with wonderful celerity, impelled by their long, laterally-compressed and powerful tails, which serve as very efficient oars. On land, their motions are proportionally slow and embarrassed, because of the length and unwieldiness of their bodies, the shortness of their

\* The article "Analysis," is, in the original, better than the one on Algebra.

† We would also willingly enrich our pages with the articles "Albatross" and Animal, Animal Life and Animal Heat, apparently from the same pen.

limbs, and the sort of small, false ribs which reach from joint to joint of their necks, and render lateral motion very difficult. In addition to the usual number of ribs and false ribs, they are furnished with others, for the protection of the belly, which do not rise up to the spine. The lower jaw extends farther back than the skull, so that the neck must be somewhat bent when it is opened; the appearance thus produced has led to the very universal error of believing that the *A.* moves its upper jaw, which is incapable of motion, except with the rest of the body. Under the throat of this animal are two openings or pores, the excretory ducts from glands, which pour out a strong, musky fluid, that gives the *A.* its peculiarly unpleasant smell.—In the spring of the year, when the males are under the excitement of the sexual propensity, they frequently utter a roar which is a very alarming sound, from its harshness and reverberation, resembling distant thunder, especially where numbers are at the same time engaged. At this period, frequent and terrible battles take place between the males, which terminate in the discomfiture and retreat of one of the parties. At this season, also, an old champion is seen to dart forth on the surface of the waters, in a straight line, at first as swiftly as lightning, gradually moving slower as he reaches the centre of a lake; there he stops, inflates himself by inhaling air and water, which makes a loud rattling in his throat for a moment, until he ejects it with vast force from his mouth and nostrils, making a loud noise, and vibrating his tail vigorously in the air. Sometimes, after thus inflating himself, with head and tail raised above the water, he whirls round until the waves are worked to foam, and, at length, retires, leaving to others an opportunity of repeating similar exploits, which have been compared to an Indian warrior rehearsing his acts of bravery, and exhibiting his strength by gesticulation.—The females make their nests in a curious manner, upon the banks of rivers or lagoons, generally in the marshes, along which, at a short distance from the water, the nests are arranged somewhat like an encampment. They are obtuse cones, 4 feet high, and about 4 feet in diameter at the base, and built of mud and grass. A floor of such mortar is first spread upon the ground, on which a layer of eggs, having hard shells, and larger than those of a common hen, are spread. Upon these another layer of mortar, 7 or 8 inches in thickness, is deposited, and then another bed of eggs: and this is repeated nearly to the top. From 100 to 200 eggs are found in one nest. It is not ascertained whether each female watches her own nest exclusively, or attends to more than her own brood. It is unquestionable, however, that the females keep near the nests, and take the young under their vigilant care as soon as they are hatched, defending them with great perseverance and courage. The young are seen following their mother through the water like a brood of chickens following a hen. When basking in the sun on shore, the young are heard whining and yelping about the mother, not unlike young puppies. In situations where alligators are not exposed to much disturbance, the nesting-places appear to be very much frequented, as the grass and reeds are broken down for several acres around. The young, when first hatched, are very feeble and helpless, and are devoured by birds of prey, soft-shelled turtles, &c., as well as by the male alligators, until they grow old enough to defend themselves. As the eggs are also eagerly sought by vultures and other animals, the race would become speedily extinct, but for the great fecundity of the females.—The *A.* is generally considered as disposed to retire from man, but this is only to be understood of alligators frequenting rivers or waters where they are frequently disturbed, or have learned to dread the injuries which man inflicts. In situations where they are seldom or never interrupted, they have shown a ferocity and perseverance in attacking individuals in boats, of the most alarming character; endeavouring to overturn them, or rearing their heads from the water, and snapping their jaws in a fearful manner. Bartram, who has made more interesting and valuable observations on the *A.* than any other naturalist, gives numerous instances of their daring and ferocious disposition, and himself very narrowly escaped with his life on several occasions. At present, alligators, though still numerous in Florida and Louisiana, are no longer regarded as very dangerous. Their numbers annually decrease, as their haunts are intruded upon by man, and at no distant period they must be nearly, if not

quite exterminated.—In the winter, the alligators spend great part of their time in deep holes, which they make in the marshy banks of rivers, &c. They feed upon fish, various reptiles, or carrion flesh which is thrown into the streams, and, though very voracious, are capable of existing a long time without food. The barking of a dog, it is said, will at any time cause them to forsake their holes, and come on shore, as they prey upon any small quadruped or domestic animal which comes within their reach. They have a very small brain, and live a long time even after it is destroyed. Titian Peale, a naturalist distinguished for practical acquaintance with the works of nature, informed the writer that he destroyed the whole superior part of the head and brain of a large A. by a ball from his gun, in the morning of a long day, and, on passing the same place in the evening, he found the animal had crawled off. Following his trail through the marsh for a considerable distance, he found him still alive, and, though dreadfully mangled about the head, ready to make battle.—In the economy of nature, alligators are of very considerable importance. They abound most where fish and other creatures are found in the greatest numbers. Their voracity tends to repress exuberant increase in the beings upon which they feed; while themselves are exposed to very numerous enemies in early life, and gradually pass away, as man usurps the sway over their peculiar dominions. The peculiarities of construction, &c. will be given under the title *Crocodile*, which see.”

To exemplify the omissions on account of the different degree of interest which some of the articles are calculated to have in this country and Germany, we may mention, that although the one on Antiquity is translated with few alterations, another, on German Antiquities, has been left out, and not improperly.

“Angling” is much more detailed and interesting in the work before us, than in the original; and indeed while we turn from page to page, we find frequent improvements and enlargements, of considerable merit, but which it would require more space than we can dispose of to notice.

For the quotations from German poets, are substituted examples from English. Thus in the word “Alliteration,” the lines,

“Weave the warp and weave the woof,”

and—

“Ruin seize thee, ruthless king,”

are not in the original, but quoted already by Dr. Rees.

We refer the reader to the articles on the Road over the Alps, Architecture, Agriculture, and Bankrupt, as performances of considerable merit; the one on Agrarian Laws, which bears testimony of research and classical lore, though chiefly founded on Niebuhr’s view of the subject, is not in the German original. The articles Astronomy, and History of Astronomy, are enlarged and considerably improved. As another valuable addition, we may also mention the interesting notice on “Baltimore birds,” and the article “Barratry.”

More might have been inserted on Botany and Mineralogy, and some law terms have been forgotten.\* We could also notice a few errors; as, for instance, instead of Agis IV. it ought to be Agis III., the race of the Heraclidæ being distinct from the Pro-

\* v. g. ‘Affidavit,’ ‘Ad inquirendum,’ ‘Ademption.’

elidæ. But it would be an enterprise altogether disproportionate to the character and limits of our journal, to carry further our examination. By the specimens which we have brought forward, and which are taken almost at random, we have, we trust, justified in some degree our favourable opinion of the volume under review, and we may sum up by stating, that we consider this publication as creditable to the editors and their coadjutors, and to the enlightened and enterprising publishers, who have undertaken, with very moderate pretensions to pecuniary recompense, (for they are probably right in asserting that it "is one of the cheapest works ever published in this country,") to furnish a work of reference well worthy to occupy a place among the books of every man of intelligence, taste, and enlightened curiosity, and to which they might have prefixed the motto,

"Indocti discant et ament meminisse periti."

The future volumes will perhaps give occasion to more remarks on the general merits of the American Encyclopædia.

The paper and the type of the first volume leave little to desire, especially considering the low price of the work.

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ART. V.—*The Philosophy of the Active and Moral Powers of Man*: by DUGALD STEWART, Esq. F. R. S. S.: London and Edinburgh: Boston: Wells & Lilly: 1828.

OF what value to mankind is the gift of an individual, in whom great talents are combined with the disposition to employ them for the benefit of others? Such beings not only diffuse a radiance over their own age, but like the stars of the firmament, are formed to enlighten ages not yet called into existence. This is eminently true of those who have employed their powers in adding to the stock of human knowledge, in unmasking error, in rendering truth more attractive and more accessible to ordinary minds.

Of this class was Dugald Stewart; and the work named at the head of this article, is his last bequest to posterity. That the cause of human improvement was near to his heart, we cannot doubt, for he devoted his life and his talents to its service. He studied the human mind, not merely as a subject of interesting speculation, but for the purpose of obtaining rules, which might promote its cultivation and development; in the hope of being able to present it to others under such interesting aspects, as would lead them to a knowledge of its worth, and its susceptibility of improvement. With this object in view, he surveyed



the immense domain of intellectual history, traced the acquisitions and losses, the progress and the delays in the march of the human mind, through the lapse of centuries, collected its scattered lights of past or present times, and concentrated them on the leading points of intellectual science, searched its dark passages, and brought thence neglected treasure. He gathered around him the superior spirits of all ages, by means of their writings, which he carefully studied, consulted their wisdom, and caught their inspiration.

In his works may be found, some notice of almost every thing of importance, which has been elicited by genius and talent on the subject of the human mind, enriched with his own candid and comprehensive views and original remarks, enabling the reader to understand all that has been effected in this interesting field of inquiry, and all that remains to be done.

One great merit of Stewart as a philosophical writer, is the extent and value of his learning. He has not only, (to borrow an expression from him) "seized and transmitted the torch of science," but he has himself increased its splendour, and more widely diffused its salutary rays; and what renders him more interesting to the general reader, is the purity, the elevation, and the warmth of his moral feelings, and the favourable views which he every where takes of human nature. He regards with grief, but not with despondency, the blight which has sometimes fallen on its fairest promises, and he looks forward with confidence to a period when it is destined to approach far more nearly, than it has yet done, to that perfection of which he believes it to be capable, and while opening the path of improvement he stations in it the most encouraging beacons.

The principal fault of his manner, is a want of conclusiveness. Being aware that such intricate and illusive subjects as metaphysics present, must be viewed under every aspect in which they can be seen, before an accurate judgment can be formed, his aim seems to be, not so much to bring the reader to a decision, as to prevent his forming one; and though charmed with the beauty of his writing, and affected by the justness of his remarks, we often rise from their perusal, with nothing definite in the mind, and find it difficult to state what we have learnt from the work. After exhausting (as it appears to us) the subject, and just as we believe ourselves sure of reaching the point, he arrests our progress, and requires us to suspend our judgment, till another and more remote path is examined, and its bearing on the question fairly estimated. When we have reached this, we have lost the train of thought, and the command of attention which a connected mode would have secured.

Although this manner must be called a defect, yet it has a tendency to further, more than many may be aware of, Stewart's

own purposes. His aim is not so much to form a system of philosophy, as to aid in enlarging and enlightening the mind, and to exercise a happy influence in the development of its various powers and faculties. His works are, in fact, of great advantage in the formation of its habits, and in the cultivation of its best feelings. On this account, there are no philosophical writings which may, with more benefit, be put into the hands of the young. To such, they impart a new perception of the beauty of morality and wisdom, and a taste for intellectual and moral inquiries, which, more than any other, has a tendency to give refinement to the feelings, and acuteness to the understanding. If the perusal of them affords less of that distinct knowledge which is expected from a scientific treatise, it does what is far better, it matures and enriches the mind, and prepares it to yield the best original productions.

Stewart is more distinguished for comprehension and generalization than for boldness and depth. We value his writings less on account of their originality, than for their wide surveys and candid estimates, and their discrimination between what is true, and what, though specious, is false. He has not aimed at any new theories, or even arrangement, but rather, as he himself expresses it, "to concentrate and reflect back on the philosophy of the human mind, whatever scattered lights he has been able to collect from the researches to which that philosophy has given birth."

In the work before us, more particularly, he has made frequent reference to the opinions of those philosophers, whose systems have each in its turn commanded the attention of mankind, and is more desirous to expose the errors they have sanctioned by their ingenuity and talent, and to avail himself of their authority whenever in coincidence with his own ideas, than to frame a system of his own.

Every system, generally absurd, when followed out to its legitimate results, contains some admixture of truth, which is the foundation of its plausibility, and it is the part of a candid and enlightened philosopher, to sift out this truth, and add it to the stores which wisdom and experience are, through all ages, amassing. They who employ their talents in the performance of this task, are not less efficient in advancing the cause of knowledge, than the framers of theories themselves, although these may obtain, and less deserve the praise of originality. Intellectual phenomena are of a multifarious and intangible nature. To reduce this mass, by means of a happy arrangement, within the limits of human comprehension, to obtain by correct analysis ultimate principles and essential characteristics, and to ascertain the natural and acquired relations of these phenomena, would introduce light and certainty into those arts and sciences, whose im-

provement must keep pace with the philosophy of mind, viz. education, ethics, politics, eloquence, poetry, &c.

This immense undertaking, the noblest the human mind can accomplish, does not appear to us impracticable. It is, however, we must acknowledge, what has never yet been completely accomplished, notwithstanding so many great men have devoted their lives and their powers to the object. If ever accomplished, it must be by means of the gradual accumulation already suggested. It is rarely, if ever, the privilege of a single mind, however gifted, to erect out of its own riches and strength, any one of those magnificent structures of science, which are the citadels of the learned world, each resting on its indestructible base of fact and experiment, and secure in its palladium of truth. The most fortunate seldom do more than add a column, it may be a single stone, as the structure advances, or remodel materials, which have been furnished by the industry of preceding labourers. When a flood of light has been poured on a dark subject, by the illumination of one mind, or a new path is opened by the enterprise of a single pioneer, it will be found, on studying the events of the preceding and the cotemporary age, that a succession of circumstances, tending to the great achievement, have been silently working its accomplishment, and that the genius who is the immediate agent in its production, is but the electric spark which kindles a previously prepared train. Systems, even when imperfect and false, have been useful in philosophy, as guides to direct inquiry, and as supplying that method which so much facilitates investigation. A disinclination to system is, however, we apprehend, a mark of that soundness of mind, that caution and patience, which are essential to the investigation of the shadowy field of inquiry which the metaphysician undertakes to explore. We repeat, it is only by patient accumulation of the truths and principles disclosed by successive minds, that a true and complete system of intellectual philosophy can be constructed. The present age, so abundant in its contributions to physical science, has not been altogether without fruit in the other. It is something to have adopted the inductive method, which is as sure a guide to truth in the intellectual as in the material world. It is something to have pointed out the peculiar difficulties attending the prosecution of intellectual inquiries, and to have shown some of the methods by which these difficulties may be mastered. It is something to direct the attention to the illusive nature of the subject, to the analogical structure of language, which is ever misleading the judgment from the precise point of inquiry, and the exact value of proof. It is something to have detected the fallacies of popular systems, and to extract the few grains of truth which have given them currency. It is something to have defined the limits beyond which human rea-

son cannot advance, and to have fixed a signal on the verge, where its proud march must be stayed. For much of this, we are indebted to the Scotch philosopher. Though it is only preliminary matter, it is of great importance, as being that first step which is so hard to take. Stewart was content to look up to Nature as a modest pupil, ambitious only of communicating, in a clear and unostentatious manner, the truths he had gathered by his long and patient attendance on her instructions. We might perhaps regret, that being in possession of so much knowledge, the fruit of his own researches, he had not formed a system of intellectual philosophy. He might have thought that the present was not the time to build up, before the rubbish of what had just been pulled down was cleared away, and while the materials were yet too scanty to allow a plan to be devised, which could with any probability be adapted to future improvements. He has also given it as his opinion,—“That this is a study whereof little more than the *elements* can be communicated by the mind of one individual to another;” and “that a knowledge of the general laws which regulate the intellectual phenomena, is, to the logical student, of little practical value, but as a preparation to the study of himself.”

Perhaps the next great mind which shall appear in this department of science, could not be better employed than in presenting the public with a fair view of the present state of intellectual philosophy, and the advantages we have gained in making a clear statement of principles, fully disclosed and established, and of all the admitted truths of which the science is at present in possession. But what learning and judgment are requisite for the faithful performance of this task, and what difficulties occur even at its commencement!

The origin of our knowledge, for instance,—is that great point yet settled? Though we resign all claim to innate ideas, in the Platonic sense of that term—are sensation and reflection sufficient to account for all that is found in the mind? If it be acknowledged, that the ideas received from sense, strictly so called, are very limited, while those consequent on the internal operations of the mind, are not only the most important but the most numerous class, can we as yet enumerate this class, or state with any exactness the circumstances in which they rise? Can an undisputed list be made of those elementary ideas, into which all others may be analyzed, while of them no account can be given, but that such is the constitution of our nature? When the appropriate exercises occur, these ideas inevitably enter the mind, and once there, they never quit it, in spite of theory and reasoning, which would fain prove many of them to be fallacious, and even non-existent—our own consciousness to the contrary notwithstanding.



In treating any scientific subject, some arrangement is indispensable ; with Stewart, it is always a mean rather than an end, and he has adhered to that which was most obvious and familiar, when this was consistent with clearness and precision. He says, in a former work :—"The rule which I have adopted in my own practice, is, to give to every faculty and operation of the mind its own appropriate name, following in the selection of this name, the *prevalent* use of our best authors, and endeavouring afterwards, as far as I have been able, to employ each word *exclusively* in that acceptation in which it has hitherto been used most *generally*." His philosophical writings may be regarded as a collection of essays on these various faculties and powers of the mind.

In his former works, he has confined his attention to a consideration of the intellectual powers, which he says, "though intimately connected with our active and moral, may be studied separately from them, with advantage." In these volumes, he treats of those active principles which put the intellectual faculties in motion, without whose aid, the latter, though so admirably adapted to their various functions, would remain sterile and useless. The regulation and cultivation of these moving powers, is a subject not less interesting than the former, and of vast importance in education ; since, however great may be the gifts of intellect or fortune, their value must depend on the character and efficiency of the springs by which only they can be put in operation. The study of this part of our constitution, though it may, at first view, seem more open to our examination than the powers of the understanding, is attended with some difficulties peculiar to itself. For this, various reasons may be assigned. The author has selected two, which in his opinion principally claim our attention:—1st. The unfavourable state of our own minds for observation and reflection, while under the dominion of the active principles, and even after they have subsided ;—and, 2d. The great variety of these principles, and the endless diversity of their combinations, in the characters of men. To which may be added, the metaphysical disputes on the subject of the will and man's free agency.

"The word action," says our author, "is properly applied to those exertions, which are consequent on volition, whether the exertion be made on external objects, or be confined to our mental operations." The primary sources of activity are, therefore, "the circumstances, in which the acts of the will originate." "Of these, there are some which make a part of our constitution, and are on that account called active principles." The following is his enumeration of them: 1st. Appetites. 2d. Desires. 3d. Affections. 4th. Self-love. 5th. Moral faculty. The three first are distinguished by the title of instinctive, or implanted

principles; the two last, by that of rational and governing principles of action. The writer first endeavours, in his classification and analysis, to illustrate the essential distinction between these two classes, and afterwards treats of the moral faculty, and the various branches of duty, of which it is the foundation. These chapters abound with interesting matter; some important questions as to the origin and character of the instinctive principles are touched upon, yet so ably that they appear to us to be settled beyond dispute.

Of the Appetites, he says, "The active principles comprehended under this title, are ultimate facts in the human constitution." They can with no propriety be called selfish, for they are directed to their respective objects, as ultimate ends, and they must all have operated in the first instance, prior to any experience of the pleasures arising from their gratification." It is the same with the Desires and Affections. He regards them as original principles, not resolvable into reason, self-love, or the association of ideas. Though more dignified and more amiable in their nature than the appetites, they are not naturally virtuous or vicious, but become so, as they are, or are not, regulated by a sense of duty. Their most important characteristic is their instinctive nature, and their subordination to the rational and governing principles. We have also many artificial desires, which may be traced to association, though the primary ones cannot. "That all the original principles of our nature are very powerfully influenced by association and habit, is a point about which there can be no dispute, and hence arises the plausibility of those theories which would represent them as wholly factitious."

That the desire of society is an original instinct of our nature, as well as with some of the brute creation, Stewart maintains, in opposition to Hobbes, who thinks that the social union is the result of prudential views of self-interest, suggested by man's experience of his own insufficiency to procure the objects of his natural desires. He proves, (we think satisfactorily,) that this opinion is contrary to the history of mankind; that man has always been found in a social state; and that if there is a foundation laid for any thing in our nature, it is for family union.—

"The considerations now stated," he goes on to say, "afford a beautiful illustration of the beneficent design with which the physical condition of man is adapted to the principles of his moral constitution; an adaption so striking, that it is not surprising those philosophers who are fond of simplifying the theory of human nature, should have attempted to account for the origin of these principles, from the habits which our external circumstances impose. In this, as in many other instances, their attention has been misled by the spirit of system, from those wonderful combinations of means, to particular ends, which are every where conspicuous in the universe. It is not by the physical condition of man that the essential principles of his mind are formed; but the one is fitted to the other, by the same superintending wisdom which adapts the fin of the fish to the

water, and the wing of the bird to the air, and which scatters the seeds of the vegetable tribe in those soils and exposures where they are fitted to vegetate. It is not the wants and necessities of this animal being which create his social principles, and which produce an artificial and interested league among individuals who are naturally solitary and hostile; but, determined by instinct to society, endowed with innumerable principles which have a reference to his fellow-creatures, he is placed by the condition of his birth in that element where alone the perfection and happiness of his nature are to be found."

The instinctive principles alone would not distinguish us essentially from brutes. It is our rational and governing principles which do this. It belongs to man only, to form a rational idea of happiness, and to devise means for its attainment. He possesses the power of comparing different gratifications, and of estimating consequences. This supposes the power of self-government, which is man's essential characteristic. These governing principles are—1. A regard to our own happiness, sometimes called self-love; and—2. The moral faculty.—

"Self-love is inseparable from our nature as rational and sensitive beings. It is impossible to conceive a being capable of forming the notions of happiness and misery, to whom the one shall not be an object of desire, and the other of aversion, and so far from expressing any thing blameable, self-love denotes a principle of action, which we never sacrifice to any of our implanted appetites, desires, and affections, without incurring remorse and self-condemnation."

Although Stewart employs the phrase *self-love*, he does not entirely approve it. It is often used as synonymous with the desire of happiness; and owing to an unfortunate connexion in their etymology, it is frequently confounded with the word selfishness, which means something radically different from that rational regard to our happiness, on the whole, which is an original, (though not as some philosophers have attempted to prove,) the only original principle of action. Those who have believed virtue to consist in benevolence, that is, a regard for *others*, have concluded that self-love, or a regard for ourselves, must be the origin of vice: that this is an unjust view of a principle implanted by the Deity for the wisest purposes, must be evident to any mind unfettered by system. But of all our active principles, that from which the class of actions denominated moral flows, is by far the most important, and has in all ages engaged the attention and exercised the acuteness of philosophers. As some of these have resolved all vice into self-love, so others have referred all virtue to the same source. That two things so opposite in their nature as virtue and vice should be referred to the same origin, is indeed a striking illustration of the value of theories. To what absurd conclusions do we not suffer ourselves to be led by philosophy, when she attempts to guide us through the paths of ratiocination, without due attention to the point from which we started, or the notices set up by nature on our way! "Though a complete acquaintance with the practice of our duty," says the author, "does not presuppose any know-

ledge of the theory, yet it by no means follows that false theories are not pernicious. Whatever tends to question the immutability of moral distinctions, is likely to undermine the foundation of virtue." Since men of genius have advanced doubts on this subject, it is necessary to show the fallacy of their reasoning, and accordingly Stewart devotes a large portion of this work to the examination and refutation of these erroneous systems of virtue.

The more attractive department of the subject, the practice of virtue, has been ably and elegantly treated, both by ancient and modern writers; but the question as to the origin of our moral ideas is comparatively modern, (with the exception of a few hints from Plato,) and has been agitated chiefly since the writings of Cudworth in opposition to Hobbes. According to Hobbes, we approve of virtuous actions from self-love, because we find them beneficial to society, and of consequence to ourselves; and he taught that the laws which the civil magistrate enjoins, are the ultimate standards of morality. These opinions met with great opposition from the clergy of his time; but his most eminent antagonist was Cudworth, who maintained that positive law derived all its sanctions from natural law; that our ideas of right and wrong are original or natural; that they are incapable of an analysis; and if we would define them, we can only use synonymous terms. Stewart embraces the opinion, that our moral ideas flow from an original and essential principle of our nature, which he calls the moral faculty, and he offers several striking considerations to show, that we have a sense of duty which is not resolvable into our regard for happiness. Our moral emotions, he says, are different both in kind and degree from those of interest. In contemplating the characters exhibited in histories and in novels, or in witnessing the representations of the stage, the emotions we feel are the immediate and genuine result of our moral constitution. "The crowd at a theatre does not alter or create the moral feeling, it only enables us to remark its operation on a larger scale." There is no time for reflection; no judicious arrangement or regard to our own interest; here we most perfectly lose ourselves; and here is exhibited the purest effect of the moral sentiment.

Although it be admitted, that moral ideas cannot be analyzed into others more simple, it still remains a question with some, how they first came into the mind; whether they are still to be ascribed to reason, or a peculiar faculty. After Locke had limited the sources of all our ideas to sensation and reflection, to neither of which moral ideas could be referred, many theories respecting their origin were started, the object of all which seemed to be to remove them from the class of simple ideas, and resolve moral rectitude into a conformity with some rela-



tion perceived by the understanding. Hutcheson saw the vanity of these attempts, and in conformity with Locke's phraseology referred our moral ideas to a peculiar sense. If he meant that they were ultimate facts in the mind, though he was not happy in the choice of his expression, he certainly was not far from the truth. "The controversy," says Stewart, "turns solely on the meaning of words. The origin of our ideas of right and wrong, is manifestly the same with that of the other simple ideas already mentioned, and whether it be referred to the understanding or the feelings, seems to be a matter of mere arrangement, provided it be granted, that the words right and wrong, express qualities of actions, and not merely a power of exciting certain agreeable or disagreeable emotions in our minds."

There is a want of precision in the language of the author, and he has adopted some phrases, and stated some distinctions, which rather diminish than increase the clearness of our conceptions on this subject. The words right and wrong, when they are applied to the mind, mean moral emotions; when to actions, the qualities which excite these emotions; and the expressions—"the perception of right and wrong," of "merit and demerit," "of moral obligation," and "of what is agreeable and disagreeable in moral emotions," all refer to the same principle, and are but so many ways of expressing its operation on our mind.

Cudworth referred our moral ideas to reason, "this word is used sometimes in a limited sense to express merely the power of deduction or argument, but if it be used in a more general sense, to denote merely our rational and intellectual nature, there does not seem to be much impropriety in ascribing to it the origin of those simple notions, which are not excited in the mind by the immediate operation of the senses, but which arise in consequence of the exercise of the intellectual powers upon their various objects." Another point is the *immutability* of moral distinctions. Our author regards this as of more importance than any other connected with this subject; and one which admits of no doubt. The ancients were, some of them, led to question the immutability of moral distinctions, from the pious design of magnifying the perfections of the Deity. Among the moderns, some writers of genius have done the same thing, as Paley, Johnson, and Jenyns. "If," says Shaftesbury, "the mere will of God constitute right and wrong, then these words have no meaning at all." Paley perceived this objection, and admitted the justness of the inference. Consistency with the *divine will*, he says, constitutes virtue, but he goes on to say, that as the divine will is original and immutable, so also are the distinctions of right and wrong, which conform to it. This is not the immutability demanded for moral distinctions, but to be independent of any will whatever. The system which founds moral obliga-

tion on the will of God, must reason in a circle; that which refers it to a rational view of our own happiness, leads to consequences that entirely invalidate its authority; among others, that a being, independently happy, cannot have any moral attributes. "The notions of reward and punishment, suppose the notions of right and wrong." "It is absurd to ask why we are bound to practice virtue," says the author, "for the very notion of virtue implies the notion of obligation." "The moral faculty, considered as an active power of the mind, differs from all the others hitherto enumerated. The least violation of its authority fills us with remorse; on the contrary, the greater the sacrifices we make in obedience to its suggestions, the greater are our satisfaction and triumph."

This is conscience; its supreme authority is never questioned, even by those who have not courage to obey its dictates. The philosopher alone, misled by those systems which partial views of human nature have suggested, mistakes the foundation of its throne, or doubts that it is as immutable as that of God himself. We need seek no farther for the obligation to virtue, than the command of this voice within, for we must judge and act by the faculties we possess. These were given us by some power other than our own, and, as we cannot doubt, greater than our own. The certainty we obtain from the exercise of these faculties, is the greatest to which we are capable of attaining. If we are not certain that virtue is obligatory, then we are not certain that two and two are equal to four, that the sun is in the heavens, that the earth on which we tread is solid. This moral power or faculty is the noblest element of human character, and according as it is possessed in larger or smaller portion, will the individual rise or fall in the scale of rational being. The most delightful as well as the most elevated feelings, of which our nature is capable, spring from this source: our highest admiration, our strongest love, are never bestowed where virtue is wanting. The power to perceive and admire in all their fulness, the higher and purer modes of excellence, in our own nature, in the wonderful creations around us, and in the adorable source of all goodness, beauty and perfection, is found only in minds possessed of moral as well as intellectual superiority; the understanding alone never reaches the pure regions in which the moral powers enable man to soar. This faculty, which so eminently distinguishes him from every other creature of this lower world, exists in some measure in all; it is a feature of humanity, but it is only when it *predominates* in the character, that it overcomes the tendencies to selfish views, and mean desires and occupations, to which material and mortal things in their influences subject us. These inferior objects cannot be wholly disregarded; but at the elevation of moral superiority, the mind ne-

ver loses sight of their relative insignificance, and all its best feelings and highest thoughts are given to what is excellent and immortal. As this faculty is the noblest, so it is more within our control than any other we possess. We are conscious of a power over it, which we feel over no other; while, with respect to the powers of intellect, nature has more nearly defined to each one a limit; we realize that it depends on ourselves to take almost what rank we will in the moral grade. It is also important to avoid restricting its operation to too narrow a sphere. It may be extended almost indefinitely by cultivation, until it embrace in its salutary government almost every principle and faculty of our nature, imparting its ennobling and sanctifying influence, alike to those inferior elements, which ally us to mortal existences, and those more refined and elevated principles by which we are assimilated to the world of spirits. Power cannot assume a more imposing form than that of moral dignity and inflexibility of purpose. This is that underived and personal efficiency, which is the essential attribute of the mind, in which free agency is manifest. In this, the created nature approaches the divine; herein, to borrow the language of a most unholy personage, "ye shall be as Gods, knowing good and evil."

Nature has given us certain auxiliary principles in aid of the moral faculty, which, says our author, have been thought by some writers, of views not sufficiently comprehensive, to constitute or account for virtue. These furnish useful assistance in education, and in the formation of our own character, and though liable to abuse, are not on that account to be disregarded. So long as they are subject to the control of virtue, they render its practice easier and more graceful. It is only when an inferior principle becomes the leading one, that their effect is injurious. The most beautiful harmony exists, where each maintains the station and performs the part which nature assigned it; and it shows not a little presumption to assert, that any one can be dispensed with, or is hurtful in any other way than as it is abused and perverted. Emulation, sympathy, taste, even self-love, perform their part in working out the great problem of perfection.

With regard to the second division of the subject, the *duties* which flow from the principle of moral obligation, Stewart adopts the most common arrangement, viz, those which relate to the Deity, to our fellow creatures, and to ourselves. The existence of Deity, according to him, does not seem to be an intuitive truth. It requires the exercise of reason for its discovery, though the process consist of a single step, and the premises belong to that class of first principles, which are essential parts of our constitution. They are two—1st, every thing which exists must have a

cause,—2d, combination of means to a particular end implies intelligence.

With respect to the first, the foundation of our reasoning from the effect to the cause, much has been written, and the system of one philosopher has been supplanted by that of another. Stewart has here, as in other parts of his work, mingled his own remarks with an account of the opinions of others, rather commenting on what they have said, than laying down any distinct judgments of his own. He has noticed the vague and indefinite manner in which the terms *cause* and *power* have been used, and he maintains the distinction between physical and efficient causes.

Availing ourselves of his remarks, whenever they appear to us to be correct, we shall attempt a further elucidation of the subject; being aware, however, that it is the philosopher alone who feels himself at a loss in the matter. No man of mere common sense doubts that every effect must have a cause, although, perhaps, he could not give a reason for his opinion; at the same time, he is in no danger of confounding his idea of the causes of effects in the material world, with that underived energy or power, which is the attribute of mind alone, although he applies the term cause to both these classes of phenomena. "Our knowledge of the course of nature," says Stewart, "is entirely the result of observation and reflection. In this way, we get ideas of invariable, but not of necessary connexion." It has been supposed, that this idea was first advanced by Hume. Traces of it, however, may be found in the writings of many modern philosophers, and even in some of the ancient. The sceptical conclusions which Hume deduced from this truth, were founded on erroneous views of the origin of our ideas. He first assumes, that all our ideas are obtained by means of impressions received from observation or reasoning, and having perceived that there was in cause and effect, nothing more than the phenomena and their invariable order, he was at a loss to find that impression from which, according to his theory, the idea of the necessity of a cause could arise. One antecedent and sequence could not give this idea, as here are nothing but the impression of the two events, and their order in this particular. That this order will obtain hereafter, is an idea of the future, which could not be the copy of past or present phenomena; neither can it be inferred from these by reasoning, since from the fact that events have been conjoined, it cannot logically be inferred, that they always will, still less that they necessarily must be so. But he affirms, that the *succession* of many phenomena in the same order, gives the impression of invariability, although a single instance is inadequate to do this; and thus, from observing numerous similar successions, we obtain the idea of causation. That this does not



remove the difficulty is obvious, even if his theory of impressions be admitted, (of which, however, there is no proof). According to this explanation, if a child burn his finger with a candle, he ought not to believe it will burn him again, until he has made several experiments, and obtained the idea of a cause from the succession of sequences. We suspect it will be found that the old proverb, "a burned child dreads the fire," is as true in the first instance as in any which may succeed.

A belief in the necessity of a cause to every effect, is essential to the preservation of our existence, and universally recognised. Stewart thinks it not important to ascertain the origin of this belief, as any doubts which may arise in the mind on this point, do not affect the reality of the notion. He inclines, however, to the opinion, that it is an intuitive idea, which necessarily follows the perception of an effect. This was Dr. Reid's opinion; and Brown, in his work on the relation of cause and effect, adopts the same. The rise of this idea in the mind, is plainly owing to those original principles of our nature, and circumstances of our condition, from which all the elements of human knowledge are derived. Whether, however, the character of invariability in the order of nature, which we observe and fully believe will always continue, is necessary or dependent on the immediate agency of the creator; whether, if necessary, it was originally so from the nature of things; or is only rendered so by his act of creation, are questions which, as it surpasses the limits of our present faculties to answer, so it is useless for us to agitate. Nevertheless, some of the most powerful minds which have ever existed on earth, have occupied no small portion of their lives in attempts to solve them.

A great proportion of the disputes and subtleties which have agitated metaphysicians, may be traced to two sources;—first, the attempt to find the essence or original meaning of a term, which has become so generalized as to render it impossible to reduce all its applications to a single element, as beauty, sublimity, taste, happiness, &c.; and, secondly, to an attempt to define or prove, by a process of reasoning, truths which are intuitive, which therefore do not admit of analysis, and the foundations of which are prior and paramount to all reasoning. We are inclined to think it is owing to both these sources; that although so much has been written about our ideas of causation, or power, the subject is still invested with obscurity. It may perhaps help to dissipate some portion of this obscurity, to advert to the vague and indefinite manner in which these terms have been used, sometimes as synonymous, and then again in senses essentially different. Ambiguity of language is a fruitful source of error, but is often inevitable. To expose this ambiguity, is not unfrequently the surest method of throwing light on an intricate

subject. The mind readily admits truth, and distinguishes it from error, whenever both are clearly presented to its view. It is only when they are obscured by the mists of inaccurate language and imperfect analogies, that it is in danger of mistaking the one for the other.

Aristotle has distinguished causes into four kinds—the efficient, the material, the formal, and the final. The term power is also frequently used as synonymous with cause, and with the phrase efficient cause. Brown, in his inquiry, resolves all our ideas of a cause or power, into the simple relation of invariable priority of event. “There is, in reality,” he says, “but one cause, the proximate event.” “Both in the spiritual world and the material, all that we know of causation, indeed all that exists, are the phenomena and their invariable order. There is no mysterious chain, no undiscovered agency, which links the phenomena together; nothing but the invariable succession of events.” But the mind is not satisfied with the phrase, invariable priority, as a definition or description of power; neither are we prepared to allow that there is no distinction between what has been termed a cause in the material department of existence, and power, or causation, in the Deity. If there be a radical distinction, Brown has overlooked it. We admit, that in the exercise of power in intelligent agents, there is nothing more than the volition as antecedent; and the thing willed to be done as consequent; and physical and efficient causes agree in this respect, the invariability of their order. Possessing in common so important a feature of resemblance, they may be all included in one class. But then we should be cautious, (and many errors in philosophy have arisen from neglect of this caution,) that while we include under one head, and call by the same name, a variety of phenomena, agreeing in some one important circumstance, we do not lose sight of and confound other important circumstances, in which they do not agree. With regard to the causes in question, this relation of invariable order is the only respect in which they do agree. In one less important, viz. the character itself of the antecedent, they differ essentially. In mental phenomena, this antecedent is always volition, and involves the idea of choice and self-sufficiency, or of power undenied, which the agent is free to employ or not; for free agency is inseparable from power, or is indeed power. As Stewart says, “the words power or energy express attributes, not of matter but of mind.”

This power, which we call creature divine, conscious power, though in its exercise it resemble, as we have already said, the phenomena of matter, that is, physical causes, in the invariability of its relation to the effect, is yet in its own nature so distinct, that to reason about it, without regard to this distinction, and keeping in view only the more general features, will lead to un-

sound conclusions. There is, then, to our minds, clearly, a distinction between the will of God, which exerts a self-originating, self-measured sway, and those physical phenomena, which invariably and involuntarily precede their appropriate effect. When we limit the term *cause* to express simply the idea of invariable priority of event, it will be restricted far more than the popular use of the word in all languages warrants, and we must have another term to express that equally important meaning, which is every where assigned to it, mental power, original and voluntary efficiency, which our own consciousness, whence undoubtedly we first derived our idea, forbids us to confound (as Brown has done) with the unintelligent and unconscious causes of physical events. Brown asserts that the distinction of physical and efficient causes cannot be allowed: he not merely objects to the phrases, but he denies the existence of the distinction they are employed to express. He also says, in another place, that the illusion, that power or causation mean something more than this relation, (of invariable order) is so universal with the ignorant, as well as with the learned, as to deserve a serious examination. We are also of opinion that it deserves examination, and furthermore, are inclined to regard the circumstance of the idea being universal, as a proof that it is not an illusion, but founded on the original laws of human nature. The explanation which he has given of the rise of this illusion (as he terms it) in the mind, is not satisfactory to us; but this is not the place to examine it. We should not have dwelt so long on his opinions, had they not been received with deference, which indeed any opinions from so distinguished a writer might claim, and if they did not appear to many minds, if not satisfactory, at least unanswerable.

“The confusion which has prevailed concerning final and efficient causes has,” says Stewart, “produced much error, especially in the philosophy of the human mind.” “When it was observed that certain actions tended to certain ends, as for instance the exercise of benevolence to happiness, this was believed to be the efficient cause, and hence arose the selfish systems in ethics, and those which attempted to derive happiness from a single source.” We might think that if any two things would be distinguished, it would be means and ends; (and what are efficient and final causes but means and ends?) yet there is an agreement between them which has led to their being confounded. For it is a consideration of the end which induces the intelligent agent to adopt the means, and which thus becomes the cause of the event. In other cases, as in the exercise of the instinctive principles, although we learn from experience, that certain actions tend to certain ends, yet such is our constitution, we are not prompted to the performance of the action by a con-

sideration of the end, but by original desires, which were, however, plainly designed by our Maker to produce precisely these effects. It must be remembered, that the phrase final cause can be applied to the phenomena of mind only, and never to those of matter, and therefore Brown, consistently with his system, which includes under one head every description of cause, mental as well as material, rejects it as altogether inadmissible in philosophical language. We do not contend for the phrase, indeed we think it objectionable, but we cannot allow that the distinction it expresses is not original, and important to be observed.

There seems to be no objection to retaining the expressions physical, efficient and final cause, provided these be accurately applied. Every use of the term *cause* implies that which invariably *precedes* or *produces* an effect. But these words are by no means synonymous: a want of attention to the distinction has contributed not a little to the obscurity of this subject. In our attempts to lessen this obscurity, it has been our aim to show, 1. That our belief in the necessity of a cause for every effect we perceive, is intuitive. 2. That the simple relation of invariable priority is not all which is meant to be expressed by the terms cause or power; they also include the idea of that underived and self-directing energy, which is an attribute of mind. The application of the term cause, to the phenomena of matter, is a generalization made in consequence of the resemblance of this class of phenomena to those of mind, in the important relation of invariable priority. That the terms, if as we suppose originally derived from mind, should have been thus applied, is not surprising, when we reflect on how slight degrees of resemblance words become generalized. Invariable antecedence is essentially different from accidental, and we cannot deny that it may with propriety be called necessary; whether from the nature of things or the will of the Creator, as we have before said, it exceeds the limits of our faculties to ascertain. At least the effect must have a peculiar connexion with the cause. To assert that in causation, there is nothing more than the antecedent event, and its relation of priority to the effect, is not to deny this; for what is this relation? It is not, we know, either the antecedent or the consequent; it is not an idea perceived by the senses; but, is it not cognizable by any other power of the mind? Can we venture to exclude from the regions of reality, that numerous class of ideas denominated relations? what would become of the reasoning faculty? if not lost, it would be almost useless, when deprived of its most important materials. The term cause has also been applied to ends, in consequence of the relation which the consideration of the end bears in the mind to those volitions which determine the selection of means.



Thus the terms cause and power, which though not perfectly synonymous, are often used as if they were, have been applied to classes of phenomena, whose agreement in some respects justifies the generalization of the terms ; but which differ in others so important, that reasonings which proceeded on the ground that there were no such distinctions, and did not accurately mark them, have, as might be supposed, led to confusion and error.

After having established the foundation of the argument from final causes, viz. the intuitive and therefore irresistible belief of the necessity of a cause for every effect, our author goes on to consider and refute the objections which have been urged against it by different philosophers, especially by Hume. In Stewart's opinion, the consideration of the evidences of wisdom in the universe, are more important in the argument for the existence of Deity, than those of design even, and afford striking proof of the unity of the Divine Agent: and the evidence derived from the moral government of God, he says, is calculated to affect the mind both more powerfully and more beneficially than the physical argument.

We have not left ourselves room to take even a very brief view of the remaining chapters. They treat of the arguments in favour of a future life, which the light of nature affords, and of our duties to God, to others, and to ourselves. Though containing, as has been already hinted, little that is new, this work will be perused with pleasure and profit. The various opinions of philosophers on the theory and practice of morals, are clearly stated, their errors exposed, and the truth presented with simplicity ; and what is also important, the subject is rendered attractive by the beauty and richness of the author's style, and the rationality of his views. There is much true philosophy in it, and but little that is abstract or very profound. We do not value it the less on this account. It is but too frequently the case, that the labours of the metaphysician, (being deficient in that practical character which is essential to usefulness,) serve but to darken by ambiguous words and imaginary distinctions, a subject before sufficiently plain, making it the employment of a succeeding genius to dispel the mist and restore the original simplicity. "The science of abstruse learning," says our author, "I consider in the same light with an ingenious writer, who compares it to Achilles' spear, that healed the wounds it had made before. It serves to repair the damage itself had occasioned; and this is perhaps all it is good for. It casts no additional light upon the paths of life, but disperses the clouds with which it had overspread them before. It advances not the traveller one step on his journey, but conducts him back again to the spot from which he wandered."

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true science, who aid the mind in forming just estimates, in perceiving real distinctions, in drawing rational inferences, in those subjects which engage its attention; and there are few authors in the language, whose writings possess this tendency in a greater degree than those of Dugald Stewart.

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ART. VI.—*A Political and Civil History of the United States of America, from the year 1763 to the close of the Administration of President Washington, in March, 1797: including a Summary View of the Political and Civil State of the North American Colonies, prior to that period.* By TIMOTHY PITKIN. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 528 & 539. New-Haven: Hezekiah Howe and Durrie & Peck: 1828.

EVERY effort towards elucidating and perpetuating the history of this our interesting country, merits approval; an empire, now rapidly advancing towards the front rank of civilized nations, yet so recently snatched from the woods, created amidst difficulties and dangers, by those who were unconscious at the moment that they were laying its ample foundation; that their rude huts would be succeeded by lofty, convenient, and, in time, luxurious habitations; that the savages whom in policy they often felt themselves obliged to court, but occasionally were induced to assail, would wholly disappear from a vast portion of the territory around them, and that the scattered tremulous settlers were but the predecessors of millions.

No part of the history of man, in any age, since the dispersion of the descendants of Noah, presents more striking phenomena. No where else do we find so much at which to wonder. If we in this country consider it without emotion, it is because habit has rendered it familiar. We should abstract ourselves from home, to view in a proper light the vastness of the object. We must stand at a distance to form an adequate conception of the cathedral of St. Peter's.

The contemplation of this inspiring subject is not impeded by clouds and obscurity. The early history of most of the European nations is lost in darkness. Whence sprung the Greeks? Whence the Gauls? Who were the original inhabitants of Italy? Authentic history is silent. Even tradition fails, and recourse is had to fiction. In America, the same doubts and perplexity in regard to its aboriginals environ us: a race of unlettered savages is alone preserved, who cannot tell us whence they proceeded. Traces of the existence of a superior race of beings are found among them, which mark the passage of centuries since

their construction, scarcely noticed by the modern *nomades*, who are wholly unable to explain them. All is enveloped in doubt and darkness, and will ever so remain. But in respect of the original formation of the great empire now swelling around us, there is nothing mysterious, nothing that may not be known. The literature of Europe, in a competent quantity, was introduced by the first adventurers. The art of printing facilitated and disseminated information of all that was done here: among the crowd of hardy labourers, there were acute and intelligent minds, who found leisure to narrate the exploits of the whole; and we can trace with more certainty than belongs to any other nation, the origin and progress of our own.

Mr. Pitkin is already advantageously known to the public. His statistical work, published in 1816, a precursor to the more extensive system of Dr. Seybert, was received with much approbation. His mind seems to be of that cast which is fond of occupying itself in collection; he is industrious and discriminating; and labours, such as his, form the useful foundation of enlarged and liberal history. The work now before us may be consulted with profit by every one.

Those who have read little of the history of their country, will find in it much new and useful information; and those who are more conversant with our annals, will not disdain a collection of facts, extracted from cotemporary writers, or from public documents, which it would be laborious to trace, and sometimes difficult to find. We are, therefore, disposed to enter on the present review with much good humour, and, in some respects, with full commendation of the work.

The title-page, (which is preceded by a sorry engraving of the most illustrious man that ever appeared among us,) sufficiently details the author's intentions. They comprise a summary view of the political and civil state of the North American colonies, prior to the year 1763. At that period, it is enlarged from a summary statement to a civil history of the United States, down to the close of the administration of President Washington. There is, however, some carelessness in this part of the title, of which the author could not have been aware. A history cannot be given of that which is not yet in existence, and there were no United States between 1763 and 1776. A history of the British Colonies from the year 1763 till the 4th of July 1776, and of the United States after that period, would be a more suitable description of the work.

Mr. Pitkin begins as usual with the first discovery of the country, and concisely relates the procedures of Cabot, Venazana, and Cartier, from which he advances to the laying of the foundations of the several British colonies. There is, however, nothing in this part of the work which is not generally known.

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The third chapter becomes more interesting; it introduces us into those firm yet modest assertions of British rights, unimpaired by emigration, which the colonists perceived were intended by the British ministry to be disdainfully trampled upon.

"In regard to the imposition of taxes, the colonial legislatures at various times passed declaratory acts.

"In 1636, the assembly of the Plymouth colony declared, 'that no act, imposition, law, or ordinance be made or imposed upon us, at present, or to come, but such as has or shall be enacted by the *consent of the body of the freemen*, or their *representatives*, legally assembled; which is according to the *free liberties of the free born people of England*.'

"In 1650, when the constitution of Maryland was settled, the legislature of that province passed 'an act against raising money without the consent of the assembly,' declaring, 'that no taxes shall be assessed or levied on the freemen of the province without their own consent, or that of their deputies, first declared in a general assembly.'

"In 1661, the general court of Massachusetts declared, that 'any imposition prejudicial to the country, contrary to any just law of their own, (not repugnant to the laws of England,) was an infringement of their right.'

"In March, 1663—4, the assembly of Rhode Island declared, in the words of magna charta, that 'no aid, tax, tallage, or custom, loan, benevolence, gift, excise, duty, or imposition whatsoever, shall be laid, assessed, imposed, levied, or required, of or on any of his Majesty's subjects, within this colony, or upon their estates, upon any manner of pretence or colour, but by the assent of the general assembly of this colony.' In the year 1692, the assembly of Massachusetts made a similar declaration.

"This was in accordance with the views of the agents of that colony, who procured and assented to the new charter. Among the reasons given by them for their acceptance of that instrument, one was, that 'the general court had, with the King's approbation, as much power in New-England as the King and parliament had in England; they have all English privileges, and can be touched by no law, and by no *tax*, but of their own making.' The act of New-York concerning their rights and privileges, to which we have alluded, passed in 1691, contained the same declaration relative to taxes, and although this, as well as the act of Massachusetts, was repealed by the King, in 1697, yet they show the sense of the people of these provinces, on this great question, at that early period. The assembly of New-Jersey not only made the same declaration, with respect to the right of taxation, but resisted the collection of duties on goods brought into the Delaware, arbitrarily imposed by Sir Edmund Andrus, in 1680. In a hearing before the commissioners of the Duke of York, on the subject of these duties, the colonists of New-Jersey, claiming under Berkley and Carteret, do not hesitate to declare them illegal and unconstitutional, *because imposed without their consent*.

"They stated to the commissioners, that the Duke of York granted to those under whom they claim, not only the *country itself*, but 'the powers of government.' 'That, only,' they subjoined, 'could have induced us to buy it, and the reason is plain, because to all prudent men, the *government* of any place is more inviting than the *soil*; for what is good *land*, without good *laws*; the better the worse: and if we could not assure people of an *easy*, and *free*, and *safe* government, both with respect to their *spiritual* and *worldly property*, that is, an uninterrupted liberty of conscience, and an inviolable possession of their civil rights and freedom, by a just and wise government, a mere wilderness would be no encouragement: for it were madness to leave a free, good, and improved country, to plant in a wilderness, and there adventure many thousands of pounds, to give an absolute title to another person to *tax* us at will and pleasure.' 'Natural rights and human prudence oppose such doctrine, all the world over; for what is it, but to say, that a people free by law under their prince at home, are at his mercy in the plantations abroad.'

"In conclusion, they say, 'there is no end to this power; for since we are by

this precedent assessed without any law, and thereby excluded our *English right of common assent to taxes*; what security have we of any thing we possess? We can call nothing our own, but are tenants at will, not only for the soil, but for all our personal estates. This sort of conduct has destroyed government, but never raised one to any true greatness.'

"The same views of this subject were entertained by Virginia, when they so earnestly solicited a charter of rights from the King, in 1676. It will be remembered, that a draft of a charter, ordered by the King, for Virginia, contained a clause securing the right of *internal taxation* to the people of that colony, and that in its last stages the charter itself was stopped. It was supposed by the agents, and no doubt truly, that this clause was one of the reasons for a final refusal of the great seal. In their petition to the King, praying for a completion of the instrument, the intelligent and patriotic agents, on this subject, say, 'the fourth head, (taxation) it is true, contains that which we humbly conceive to be the *right* of Virginians, as well as of all other Englishmen, which is, *not to be taxed but by their consent, expressed by their representatives.*'

"This is the same language which was held nearly a century afterwards, by Patrick Henry and other patriots in Virginia.

"Many of the colonists, indeed, entertained an opinion that they were bound by no acts of parliament; because not represented in that body. Nicholson, governor of Maryland, in a letter to the board of trade, in 1698, says, 'I have observed, that a great many people in all these provinces and colonies, especially under proprietaries, and the two others, under Connecticut and Rhode Island, think that *no law* of England ought to be in force and binding to them, *without their own consent.* For they *foolishly say*, they have no representatives sent from themselves, to the parliament of England; and they look upon all laws, made in England, that put any restraint upon them, to be great hardships.'"

On a subject so thoroughly discussed as this has been, little more can now be said. The elementary principles are too plain to be misunderstood. The government of a country, from which a colony emigrates, may impose terms before it grants permission to depart, and those terms, when accepted by the colonists, ought to be faithfully adhered to. If none are imposed and assented to, no contract is made, and the emigrating party retains, without diminution, all the rights of free agency which were enjoyed at home. If the charter is merely the act of the executive power, it may well be doubted, whether, without legislative interference, a body of subjects could be reduced, in a distant country, under nominal subjection to a condition of political and personal rights, inferior to that they would have been entitled to if they had remained at home; and even contracts, without the sanction of the legislature, would be of questionable obligation. The posterior acts of the legislature would afford no aid. The declaratory act of 1766, which affirmed that the British parliament had a right to bind the colonies in all cases whatever, was absurd, and it became a just subject of ridicule in this country. The colonists might, by their own acts, put themselves in some degree under the power of the legislature. It would amount to a concession of a right, and would be treated as a step towards the formation of another compact. The danger of such a measure did not escape the penetration of the jealous and acute New-Englanders.

"In 1640, governor Winthrop, in his journal, says, 'upon the great liberty which the King left the parliament to in England, some of our friends there, wrote to us, advising to send over some one to solicit for us in parliament, giving us hopes, we might obtain much : but, consulting about it, we (the governor and assistants convened in council) declined the motion for this consideration, that, if we should put ourselves under the *protection of parliament*, we must be subject to all such *laws* as they should make, or at least, such as they might impose on us ; in which course, if they should intend our good, yet it might prove very prejudicial to us.'

"And governor Trumbull, in his letter to baron J. D. Vander Capellan, in 1779, referring to this passage in Winthrop's journal, says, 'that at that time and ever since, the colonies, so far from acknowledging the parliament to have a right to make laws binding on them, in all cases whatsoever, they have ever denied it, in any case.'"

The chapter is closed with an enumeration of the very oppressive restrictions laid on the internal as well as the foreign trade of the colonies, and concludes with the just observation of Adam Smith, that "to prohibit a great people from making all they can of every part of their own produce, or from enjoying their own stock and industry in the way they judge most advantageous to themselves, is a manifest violation of the most sacred rights of mankind." From a very early period, there were constant dissatisfaction, and mutual distrust. In fact, we cannot find a point of time during which any positive cordiality existed. The mother country looked with jealousy on the rapid increase and prosperity of the provinces ; it perceived a gradual attainment of strength and power injurious to the manufacturer and the merchant of England. It foresaw a further progress which might dissolve the political connexion.

"A very general opinion, also, prevailed in England, that the colonists, under these governments, aimed at independence. In 1701, a bill was brought into parliament, for re-uniting all the charter governments to the crown. It embraced Massachusetts, New-Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut, East and West Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Carolina, and the Bahama or Lucay Islands. The preamble declared, '*that the severing such power and authority from the crown,*' had been found, by experience '*prejudicial and repugnant to the trade of this kingdom and to the welfare of his majesty's other plantations in America, and to his majesty's revenue, arising from the customs, by reason of many of these plantations, and by those in authority there, under them, by encouraging and countenancing pirates and unlawful traders, and otherwise.'*

"The bill then declares the charters or letters patent of all the plantations abovementioned, to be utterly void and of no effect, and that the governments of the same, should be re-united and annexed to the crown. The agents of some of the colonies were heard before the house of lords, and the bill was defeated. The enemies of the charter governments, however, were unremitting in their exertions, and continued their complaints to the king, and the board of trade.

"Taking advantage of the just complaints of the people of Carolina, against the conduct of the proprietors of that province, the subject of annulling not only the charter of that province, but those of the other governments, was again brought before parliament, in the beginning of the reign of George I. ; and it was with no little difficulty that the charters of New-England were saved. Jeremiah Dummer, agent of Massachusetts and Connecticut, about this time, published a defence of the New-England charters, which he addressed to Lord Carteret, one of the Secretaries of state. This defence was drawn with great ability and judgment, and had no little influence in preserving the charter rights of his constituents.



"One of the greatest objections against these governments, was, that, 'from their increasing *numbers* and *wealth*, these colonies would in the course of a few years, throw off their *dependence* on the parent country, and declare themselves a free state, if not *checked* in time, by being made *entirely subject* to the crown.' This objection, says Mr. Dummer, '*one meets with from people of all conditions and qualities.*' A native of Massachusetts himself, Mr. Dummer well knew the strong attachment of the people of that colony, as well as of all New-England, to the rights secured by their charters; and he declared to the secretary of state, they would esteem 'the loss of their privileges a greater calamity than if their houses were all in flames at once. Nor can they be justly blamed,' he adds, 'the one being a reparable evil, the other irreparable. Burnt houses may rise again out of their ashes, and even more beautiful than before; but 'tis to be feared, *that liberty once lost, is lost for ever.*'"

And these apprehensions are openly avowed by the Board of Trade, in 1728, on a reference to them of a memorial from the General Court of Massachusetts, of which the author gives an interesting account. After noticing in some passages, not very well expressed, the unjust practice of exporting convicts to the plantations, and the impatience with which they were received; and after describing, more at large, the measures taken for the instruction of youth, and the cultivation of literature, Mr. Pitkin concludes his fifth chapter with the following well written paragraph:—

"The political, civil, and literary institutions, which we have thus briefly and imperfectly noticed, established principally by the colonists themselves, partook not a little, as the reader must have observed, of the character of their authors; a character, as has been often remarked, peculiar to the settlers in the new world, and in many respects different from that of the great mass of the people in Europe. Great Britain herself, at the commencement of the revolution, was ignorant of the character of her numerous subjects in America; and indeed, the American character, even at this day, is not perfectly understood in Europe. The difference in the circumstances and condition of the great mass of the inhabitants of the new and the old world, seems to have been overlooked by most of the Europeans. It could not have escaped, one would suppose, the attention of the most superficial observer, that no ordinary motives, no common energy of mind, could have induced the first settlers of America to leave their native homes for a wilderness; much less to encounter the dangers to which they were exposed; and to endure the hardships necessarily incident to their new situation. Though the motives and views of those who settled in the different colonies were different, yet their situation, in their new places of abode, being in many respects similar, naturally produced in all an energy of character, and a spirit of independence, unknown in the great mass of the people they had left in Europe. In most of the colonies, the inhabitants held their lands in fee simple, free from rents. Feudal tenures were unknown in America. Every man was a freeholder, and his freehold was at his own disposal. Attached to the farm on which he lived, and from which he supported himself and his family, he had every inducement to secure and defend it. This independent situation was immediately felt by the first emigrants to North America. Alluding to this situation, so different from that of many he had left in England, one of the first settlers in Plymouth, in a letter to his friend there, observes, 'We are all freeholders, and the rent day does not trouble us.'

"This independent condition of the colonists, with respect to the tenure of their lands, combined with that equality which existed among them, arising from an equal distribution of property, a general diffusion of knowledge, and a share which all had in the government, naturally produced a love of liberty, an independence of character, and a jealousy of power, which ultimately led, under

divine Providence, to that revolution, which placed them among the nations of the earth."

We proceed to the interval between the peace of 1763, and our declaration of independence. There are much fair narrative and sound sense to be found in relation to the events of this interval. The fatuity of Lord Grenville, and the delusion of his followers, in the imposition of the Stamp Act, are well contrasted with the stern and uniform resistance it met with. On this particular subject, there was little division of opinion among us. All resisted the first attempt, because all were concerned in the obvious illegality of internal taxation; and when the Rockingham administration consented to its repeal, an universal joy prevailed throughout America.

Of the proceedings of the first Congress in 1765, our author gives a somewhat ampler detail (for which we refer to the book) than we meet with in other historical works. He commences the eighth chapter with the second Congress, which met in September, 1774; and of their proceedings, as well as of those of the colonies at large, his account is lucid and faithful. Although a full description of military transactions forms no part of the plan, he is unavoidably led to mention the great turning point from which Great Britain may correctly date the irretrievable loss of her power over us.

"The preparations of the colonists for defence increased with the increase of danger. The manufacture of gunpowder, arms, and ammunition of every kind, was encouraged. In Massachusetts in particular, all was vigilance and activity. Every person capable of bearing arms, was to be ready at a moment's warning, and arms and provisions were collected and deposited at the towns of Worcester and Concord. Though a desperate conflict seemed inevitable, the people of Massachusetts, as well as the other colonies, were determined not to be the first to commence the attack; but were resolved to repel by force, the first hostile aggression, on the part of the British commander. An opportunity soon offered, to bring their resolution as well as courage to the test. On the 18th of April 1775, a detachment of troops moved from Boston, to destroy the warlike and other stores deposited at Concord; and the next day, the battle of Lexington and Concord followed, in which the British first commenced actual hostilities, by firing on the militia collected at the former place.

"The people of Massachusetts redeemed the pledge they had often given, to defend their rights at the hazard of their lives. The British were repulsed, and compelled, with no inconsiderable loss, to return to Boston. The news of this engagement soon spread through the colonies. All New-England was in arms, and thousands moving towards the scene of action.

"The provincial congress of Massachusetts immediately resolved that an army of thirteen thousand men should be raised, and the other New-England colonies were requested to furnish an additional number, for the defence of the country. The treasurer was directed to borrow £100,000 for the use of the province; and they declared that the citizens were no longer under any obligations of obedience to governor Gage. They immediately despatched to Dr. Franklin, their agent in England, an account of this hostile attack, accompanied with an address to the people of Great Britain."

War had now commenced. Subsequent military operations are slightly glanced at, and only mentioned when it is necessary to connect and explain the general civil history. The interven-

tion of the French, its effects upon both countries, and the final recognition of our independence, are successively, but somewhat drily, narrated. We seldom find any general remarks, any references to the state of the country, the pulsations of the public mind, or the principles on which the defensive combination was founded and preserved. The reader is commonly left to draw his own inferences, and it cannot be denied that the facts are sufficiently stated for the purpose. Some detached articles, perhaps not generally known, may be selected as specimens of the difficulties with which, in our infant state, we had to struggle, and which sufficiently evince the activity and the firmness of our Congress.

Spain, it will be long remembered, came reluctantly to our aid. The character of that government had, since the reign of Philip III., been marked by a high tone, not altogether consistent with the extent of its strength. Those who had so lately been mere provincial dependents, and who suddenly assumed the attitude and habiliments of an independent nation, were looked upon as much in scorn as in compassion. We were regarded as mendicants, assuming higher titles than we could prove our right to—as suppliants, whom it might be impolitic to assist, but no way dangerous to repel. It required greater talents than those of the Spanish minister, to foresee, that time would raise these feeble provinces into an empire mightier than their own—but it might have been foreseen, that one example would tend to produce a similar effort on her own American provinces. The idea of admitting us to navigate the Mississippi alarmed her. It was ardently pressed by us, and pertinaciously refused. The account of Mr. Jay's reception and negotiations at Madrid deserves to be copied:—

“In the mean time, congress came to the resolution of sending a minister to Spain; and the next day Mr. Jay was appointed envoy to the court of Madrid, and Mr. Adams to negotiate a treaty of peace with Great Britain. Mr. Jay was intrusted with the important business of procuring the accession of Spain to the treaties the United States had made with France. In case his Catholic Majesty required additional stipulations, he was at liberty to propose such as should be ‘analogous to the principal aim of the alliance, and conformable to the rules of equity, reciprocity, and friendship.’ If Spain should accede to the treaties, and in concurrence with France and the United States continue the war, for the purposes therein expressed, he was instructed to offer her the Floridas, on the terms and conditions contained in the above mentioned resolution.

“For the beneficial enjoyment of the navigation of the Mississippi below latitude 31°, he was instructed to procure some convenient port on the Mississippi, below that latitude, for the use of the citizens of the states. He was, also, directed to obtain a loan of five millions of dollars; before making any propositions for a loan, however, he was to solicit a subsidy, in consideration of the guarantee of the Floridas.

“Mr. Jay sailed for Spain the latter part of the year, but being driven by a storm to the West Indies, he did not arrive in that country until March, 1780.”

“In consequence of the success of the enemy at the south during the year 1780, the state of Virginia, in order to induce Spain to accede to the treaty of

alliance, and to afford more effectual aid in the common cause, was willing to recede from insisting on the right of navigating the Mississippi, and of a free port below the thirty-first degree of north latitude; and on these points, instructed their delegates in congress to procure an alteration in Mr. Jay's instructions.

"Congress, therefore, in February, 1781, directed Mr. Jay no longer to insist on this part of his instructions, in case Spain should unalterably persist in her refusal; and provided the free navigation of the Mississippi, above latitude thirty-one degrees, should be acknowledged and guaranteed by the king of Spain, to the citizens of the United States, in common with his subjects.

"This was done, as congress declared, because the Americans were desirous 'to manifest to all the world, and particularly to his Catholic Majesty, the moderation of their views, the high value they place on the friendship of his Catholic Majesty, and their disposition to remove every obstacle to his accession to the alliance subsisting between his most Christian Majesty and these United States, in order to unite the more closely in their measures and operations, three powers who have so great a unity of interests, and thereby to compel the common enemy to a speedy, just, and honourable peace.'

"Soon after Mr. Jay's arrival at Cadiz, which, as we have before stated, was not until March, 1780, he sent his secretary, Mr. Carmichael, from that place to Madrid, to sound the Spanish court on the subject of his mission. As a preliminary, that court wished to obtain particular information, concerning the population, manufactures, commerce, military and naval power, and generally the wealth and resources of the United States, as well as the dispositions of the Americans to persevere in their struggle for independence.

"The Spanish minister, therefore, requested of the American envoy answers to various questions on these subjects. To these Mr. Jay returned very long and able answers; and afterwards went to Madrid, and had many conferences with the prime minister, count Florida Blanca. He was soon informed that the king of Spain would not accede to the treaties made with France; and indeed he was told, in the most explicit terms, that his Catholic Majesty was displeased with the king of France, for concluding those treaties without his concurrence.

"The letter of the king of Spain to the French king, of the 22d of March, 1778, in answer to one from the latter, announcing his determination to disclose to the court of London his connexion with America, bears strong marks of dissatisfaction.

"The American minister found the Spanish court very slow in all their movements. Having refused to acknowledge the independence of the United States, the king would not formally receive Mr. Jay as an American minister. This rendered his situation humiliating as well as embarrassing. His embarrassments were greatly increased, in consequence of bills drawn upon him by congress to a large amount, before any provision was made for their payment. Presuming on the good will of the Spanish court towards the cause of America, the national legislature ventured to draw these bills, making them payable at six months sight; trusting their minister would be able, before they fell due, to procure money from the king of Spain, either by loan or subsidy, to pay them. The Spanish minister, when informed of this, expressed no little surprise, that a step of this kind should be taken by congress, without a previous arrangement with his master; and it was not without great difficulty, Mr. Jay obtained from him, an engagement to furnish part of the amount for which the bills were drawn. When the American minister pressed the Spanish court on the subject of forming treaties with the United States, agreeably to his instructions, he was told, that as a preliminary, some definitive arrangement must be made respecting the navigation of the Mississippi; and he was informed, that his Catholic Majesty had determined to exclude all foreigners from entering the gulf of Mexico by the rivers from the north. The American minister was strongly pressed to yield on these points.

"Though Mr. Jay had the promise of assistance in the payment of the bills drawn upon him, yet infinite delays and difficulties were constantly interposed in the fulfilment of this promise. In consequence of this, the credit of the American government was put in great jeopardy, the embarrassments of Mr. Jay in-



creased, and his patience put to the severest trial. In order to meet the bills, he was obliged to apply to Dr. Franklin at Paris, and but for his assistance, the bills would have returned to America unpaid, and the credit of the American government greatly injured in Europe. While Mr. Jay was in this situation, and was pressing the Spanish minister to furnish the funds agreeably to his engagement, in order to save the honour and credit of the United States, he was informed, that if he would yield to the terms of Spain, respecting the navigation of the Mississippi, the money would be furnished. This was resisted by Mr. Jay, with great firmness, not only as contrary to his instructions, and inconsistent with the rights and interest of his country, but as an unwarrantable attempt to take advantage of his peculiar situation. The firm and patriotic conduct of the American minister, on this occasion, was afterwards highly approved by congress.

"After Mr. Jay received his instructions to recede from insisting on the free navigation of the Mississippi, and a free port below the thirty-first degree of north latitude, he proposed to the Spanish court, a plan of a treaty, one article of which was, that 'the United States should relinquish to his Catholic Majesty, and in future forbear to use the navigation of the river Mississippi, from the point where it leaves the United States down to the ocean.' This article was accompanied with a declaration, on the part of the American minister, that if the offer was not *then* accepted, but postponed to a general peace, the United States would not be bound by it in future. This offer fell far short of the views of the Spanish court—the proposed treaty was rejected, and the negotiation remained in this state, until June 1782, when Mr. Jay was called to Paris, and the negotiation was transferred from Madrid to that place."

The greatest necessity alone would justify the drawing of those bills on Mr. Jay by Congress; but his firm and dignified conduct entitles him to unbounded praise, as well in respect to this perplexing measure, as to the impediments which he encountered at the Spanish court. The man who in old age and retirement could look back to a life so well spent as that of Mr. Jay, enjoyed indeed an enviable lot.

Of the negotiations concerning the treaty of peace, nothing new is related, and nothing very impressive is observed. The establishment of the present Constitution of the United States formed a new era, and ranked next in importance to the achievement of independence. External force drove us to the latter, internal debility produced the Constitution. Thirteen sovereign states, mutually jealous, opposed in interests, prejudice, and feeling, nominally united by an impotent and fragile confederation, confessedly directed by a heterogeneous body, wholly destitute of power, presented merely a wild spectacle of ideal government. To convert these discordant materials into splendid, efficient, and self-preserving machinery, was one of the highest exploits of human intellect. The execution was as perfect, as the original conception was daring and sublime. We never properly stepped forth in the arena of nations, till this great fabric was complete. We were only states before; we thus became United States, a title which it was, until then, mere fallacy to claim. If the eyes of Europe were turned upon us with anxiety and distrust, while we presented to view thirteen small and separate heads, these sensations were softened into respect and acceptance, when the whole was thus transformed into one con-

tinuous body. But within ourselves, how deep, how solemn was the change! A majestic fabric, which may almost be said, in the language of holy writ, to have been cut out of the mountain, without hands,—since those whose work it was, certainly were not vested with powers competent for its formation—was suddenly exhibited to view. We beheld in it the grave of our former imbecility, dissensions, and disgrace, and the promise and the surety of future compactness, power, and glory. It became the office of the people, in their collective and original capacities, to adopt or to reject it.

The restricted governments existing in the separate states, were incompetent to the mighty task. The people of each state rose in their own sovereignty, and in the exertion of their own power freely and fearlessly discussed every part and member of the new theory displayed before them. The sound sense of the majority prevailed over petty cavils, and groundless apprehension, such as always are to be found, and always ought to be heard with patience among freemen. The Constitution was finally adopted. Cold must be the bosom that does not swell with emotion at the recollection of this great and redeeming event, and dim is the vision that does not perceive in what miserable anarchy, depression, and desolation, we should have been involved without it.

If sentiments similar to ours, ever arose in the mind of the author, he has not thought proper to avow them. We cannot discover that he partakes of that enthusiasm, which on such an occasion is pardonable in an American; nor, on the other hand, does he rank himself among the minority who were opposed to this noble, this all-healing measure. In this part of the work he contents himself with coldly copying from the journals of the convention, the minutes taken by Mr. Yates of New-York, and other publications of which the world has long been in possession.

In the same tone, and from similar materials, we are introduced to the commencement of the operations of the new government. This, however, is preceded by a summary view of the constitutions of the different states, which appears to be correctly drawn. We have always deemed it the peculiar charity of Heaven that such a man as George Washington was given to fill the high and novel station of first magistrate of the Union. One of different talents, one less endowed with exalted and uncommon qualities, one who was merely respected as a citizen, or known merely as a statesman of *routine*, in short, one who was not venerated as a father, would have brought to the first operations of this new and complicated government, nothing to enforce it beyond its own intrinsic merits. It would have been less impressive and efficient; and although republican principles

and habits would undoubtedly have carried it through, yet it would have been coldly, and sometimes reluctantly, adopted. The slow progress which it would then have made, the opposition which at times would probably have been presented by state administrations, feeling themselves somewhat shorn of their power, were prevented by the overbearing but unassuming influence of a name which memory ever found prominent in military recollections, and always safe in civil and domestic action.

Nor is it at all inconsistent with republicanism, that among men all politically equal, public preference should accompany those who are the most meritorious. There cannot be an Agrarian law of the mind. Talent and virtue must ascend, and must acquire the confidence and trust of the community. But is there no danger?—May not confidence and trust be carried too far?—The answer is found in a written constitution, full of checks and balances; and we may confidently throw into the scale the moderation and good sense of *our* citizens. Compare this country with all we know of other countries—the North American republic with every other republic, the petty, rancorous democracies of ancient Greece—the disjointed, venal Romans—the aristocracies of Venice and Genoa, and others of modern times—the ephemeral republic of France, and the southern part of our own continent in its present awful convulsions—do we not perceive that we have a natural character distinct from all of them? Here it would be impossible for a Julius Cæsar to array a military force against the liberties of his country; it would be unnecessary to expel an Aristides by ostracism. We adhere to the letter of the Constitution; it is the safest rule. No public instrument ever was so cautiously, so accurately framed. There is in it nothing superfluous, nothing defective; no one presumes to diverge from it in pursuit of what he might call its spirit. The letter is itself the spirit of it. We speak in reference to its great parts, its entire combination. On one or two points, broad constructions, liberal extensions, have, it is true, been adopted. The National Bank and the system of internal improvements may be quoted. On those points discussion has been lost in decision; and the decisions were right. The letter of the Constitution would support them both, though it expressly mentions neither.

But there is in our Constitution a corrective faculty unknown in the ancient codes. The judicial power, without assistance, can enfold the Constitution in its arms, press it to its bosom, and repel the shafts of domestic turbulence and assault. And it should ever be remembered, that this faculty does not depend upon the government for life and action. It may be set in motion by any private individual, it is quiescent till called upon to act, unspar-

ing and cogent in action, relapsing into quietude when the service is performed.

If the time ever shall arrive when military usurpation is triumphant, its success will be founded not on an abuse of the Constitution, but on a subversion of it. It will be insurrection and rebellion, not imputable to, nor facilitated by any particular form of government. But if such outrages might happen in this country, they could not be apprehended in men with minds like that of Washington; of him there was no fear. He appeared as the good and guardian genius of the empire, whose attributes were wisdom, benevolence, and firmness. All the profound principles, all the healing efficacies of the new Constitution, that fell to his lot to be explained and administered, passed through his hands in pure and pristine vigour, unimpaired, unenlarged, and unadulterated.

In the title of the present book, besides the error we have already noticed, we think there is what the lawyers call a misnomer. When the word civil is opposed to military, we readily perceive the author's meaning; but when it follows the term political, we are naturally led to expect something descriptive of manners, morals, and the condition of man. In this respect expectation is raised, but not gratified. A view of the condition of the inhabitants, their progress in trade, manufactures, agriculture and literature, with the general state of morals and religion, would properly and usefully constitute their *civil* history; and the comparison of the effects of the new Constitution, on those heads, with the situation before it was adopted, would form a valuable commentary on so great a text. Forty years have not yet elapsed since the whole continent presented an aspect of discouragement and dismay,—we had few manufactures, and little commerce. Real estate, after a sudden and inordinate rise, taken soon after the peace, sunk to half its real value. Our merchants were largely indebted to those of England, and the inhabitants of the interior were largely indebted to our merchants. Expedients of a bad kind were resorted to by state legislatures to relieve the debtors, and the creditor often became the unintended victim of them. Specie, as a circulating medium, was scarce; confidence among individuals ceased; privations of many domestic enjoyments was unavoidably incurred,—emigration to the westward ensued, and the hardships of clearing suitable spots for cultivation, and of log huts, and earth floors, was substituted for better dwellings, though with little other comforts at home. These slight touches are sufficient to show the lines of a picture, which, in able hands, might become highly interesting and instructive. In its political character it would exhibit the imbecility of a number of contiguous but disjointed states, possessing many natural advantages, without the means of improving or



enjoying them. It would revive the history of the belligerent republics of Greece, nominally held together by the Amphyctionic council—it would resound with the murmurs of those states which had expended blood and treasure for the common defence, and which were refused a contribution by their confederates, when victory and peace were obtained. In both aspects, the remedy adopted would present to view, in its best colours, the specific American character, deliberately viewing its own difficulties, and extricating itself from them by its own pacific energies. State did not levy war on state. Lacedæmon did not invade Thebes. The contemptible insurrection of Shay's, in Massachusetts, scarcely deserves notice.

Such subjects can be best delineated by our own countrymen, by those who personally witnessed the daily occurrences, and do not depend on the printed evidence to which foreigners are obliged to resort.

In the Life of Washington, Chief Justice Marshall has occasionally gratified us by philosophic views of what may be termed the surrounding scenery of the Hero. It did not fall within his aim to enlarge upon it. But Mr. Pitkin, with the comprehensive title of his book, ought to have tried his talents beyond dry details; and we regret that we do not always find him quite correct even in those details, where error might have been avoided by taking a moderate degree of pains. In page 351, vol. 2. he tells us, that,

“On the subject of apportioning the representatives, a difference arose between the senate and house, with respect to the *ratio* to be adopted, and the *mode* of applying it. A bill passed both houses, fixing the ratio at one member for every thirty thousand; and the whole federal number in the United States, was divided by this sum, and the number produced by this division, was apportioned among the states by this ratio, giving to each state its number, and the residue was apportioned among the states which had large fractions. The president very justly considered the *mode* of apportionment, as contrary to the constitution, and returned the bill to congress with his objections. The first was, that the constitution had prescribed, that representatives should be apportioned among the several states, according to their respective numbers; and that there was no one proportion or division, which, applied to the respective states, would yield the number and allotment of representatives proposed by the bill. The second, that by the constitution, the number of representatives should not exceed one for every thirty thousand; which restriction, by the fair and obvious construction, was to be applied to the separate and respective states; and that the bill had allotted to eight states, more than one for every thirty thousand. This was the first instance, in which the president had exercised his qualified veto, to any act of congress. The bill not being repassed by two-thirds of both houses, was rejected. A bill was afterwards passed, apportioning the representatives, agreeably to a ratio of one for every thirty thousand in each state, which received the sanction of the president; and this mode of apportionment has since been pursued.”

Now the fact was, that the ratio of one for 30,000 was that which the President rejected, and the ratio of one for 33,000 was ultimately adopted. The Act of Congress could readily

have been seen in the statute book, and Mr. Marshall gives a full and accurate account of the whole proceeding.

This early use of the power to negative bills sent from the legislature, was also an important era in our constitutional history. The same power exists in England, but is cautiously and reluctantly exercised. The Crown, with all its *attirail* of pomp, power, and dignity, avoids its own lawful interposition whenever it may be avoided. Recourse is preferably had to artifice and intrigue with the Commons, or to an increase of the number of the House of Lords. The first exercise of this right, and consequently this duty, happily took place in the time of such a man as Washington, and in an instance when the legislature certainly were in the wrong. He had not the full support of his cabinet. Marshall gives us an account of their division. But he possessed a sound natural intellect, which led him to the truth, unbiassed by the sympathies of popular approbation, or the fear of popular dissatisfaction. Of this, his conduct on the proposition of the French court in 1778, for the invasion of Canada, formed a strong instance, and we were happy to find it inserted by Mr. Pitkin.

At this period, the nation was full of joy and gratitude, on account of the intervention of France, and it seemed almost treasonable to doubt the sincerity of her views, or the greatness of her aid. But the cautious mind of the general was not dazzled. While he openly represented to Congress the military difficulties of such an invasion, he disclosed to one of its members those ulterior apprehensions which it would have been imprudent to publish, but which were decisively fatal to the adoption of the plan. There is obvious reason to believe, that if the first exercise of the *veto* by a president of the United States, had devolved on a man of less consideration, or had been in itself erroneous, it would have much diminished the general satisfaction at the existence of the right to pronounce it.

One of the earliest subjects of legislative debate, noticed by our author, on which it will be recollected that much time was uselessly spent, was the question, whether the consent of the senate was not as necessary to the removal as to the appointment of an officer, which we all know was determined in the negative.

"This decision of a great constitutional question has been acquiesced in, and its consequences have been of greater importance than almost any other, since the establishment of the new government. From the manner in which this power has been exercised, it has given a tone and character to the executive branch of the government, not contemplated, it is believed, by the framers of the constitution, or by those who composed the first congress under it. It has greatly increased the influence and patronage of the president, and in no small degree made him the centre, around which the other branches of the government revolve.

"The experience of a few years has evinced that the supposed checks to exe-

utive influence have, in many instances, been too feeble and inefficient; nor can it be expected they will be more efficacious in future. While so many members of the national legislature are themselves candidates for office, the balance of power will incline to the side of the executive."

In this opinion of Mr. Pitkin we cannot coincide. It is refuted by fact. The executive has no inordinate influence with us; the people at large can neither be bribed nor intimidated—it is their *power* which influences the action of the legislature. A selected individual may sometimes barter his vote for court favour, but he cannot forbear to contrast what he loses with what he gains. And the traffic would degrade both parties, with a certain disadvantage to both. The penetrating eye of the public would readily discover, and the next returning election would assuredly punish, the dishonest traffic. In the general declaration which we have quoted, the author does not sufficiently discriminate between the unqualified power of appointment, if the Constitution had conferred it, and the unqualified power of removal. If any temptation existed, it would be the desire of obtaining an office, not the permanency of the tenure. We know not what is meant by "the balance of power inclining to the side of the executive." The legislative power is carefully separated by the Constitution from that of the executive. The former never can, nor ought to interfere with the latter, except in the corrective function of impeachment. The executive can never interfere with the legislature, except in giving a negative to its bills. The phrase employed is unappropriate and insignificant. It is needless at this day to enter into the merits of the main question; it is sufficient to say that a contrary solution of this constitutional doubt, would have been gradually to create an executive power independent of the President, and to have formed a body of place-men, responsible to the senate alone. The senate would thus become invested with a power not found in the Constitution, which without diminishing their legislative rights, must give them a control over the executive proceedings. The careful bounds of separation, so finely drawn in the Constitution, being thus broken down, the beautiful harmony of the whole would be destroyed. We may venture to say, that the clear and sound mind of Washington would have sent back the bill; and if it still had passed, he would have resigned the mutilated office, and returned to Mount Vernon.

The remaining, and the best part of the work, is occupied with the chief events of President Washington's administration. Among these we notice particularly the judicious declaration of neutrality between the two belligerents, the insidious conduct of France, and the arrogant tone and measures of Great Britain. The subject is introduced in Mr. Pitkin's best manner.

"On the 5th of March, the president took the oath of office, and entered upon the second term of his administration. It was fortunate for the United States that he yielded to the wishes of his country, not to decline a second election. The great events which had taken place in Europe, the effects of which were soon to be felt in America, required in a chief magistrate, all the wisdom and firmness for which he was so eminently distinguished, as well as all that popularity and weight of character, which he had so justly acquired. A most extraordinary revolution in France, was coeval with a change of government in the United States. A new constitution, with the assent of the king, was established by the French people. The legislative power was vested in a single body, styled a national assembly, and to their acts a partial negative only was reserved to the crown."

"This assembly was dissolved in 1792, and a national convention substituted. Soon after this, royalty itself was abolished, and the French nation declared a republic. The king and queen were arrested, and before this convention accused of various crimes against the state; and on the 21st of January 1793, the king was brought to the guillotine, and the queen not long after shared a similar fate. The convention, soon after the death of the king, declared war against Great Britain and Holland. The news of these important transactions reached America not long after president Washington had entered upon the second term of his administration; and presented a new state of things to the consideration of the government and people of the United States.

"Enjoying the blessings of liberty and self-government themselves, and remembering with gratitude the aid afforded by France in the attainment of them, the citizens of America had seen with satisfaction, and even enthusiasm, a revolution, by which the people of that country participated in the same blessings. And although in the progress of this revolution, in consequence of the frequent changes, as well as great defects in their systems of government, from the ferocity and cruelty of the rival factions, from the imprisonment and beheading of the king and queen, some were led to doubt whether a republican or representative government could be permanently maintained in that country; yet a great proportion of the American people seemed to have no doubt on the subject.

"They viewed France in the same situation America formerly was, contending for her rights against the tyranny of Great Britain and the rest of Europe, and many individuals were ready to join with her in the contest, or to engage in privateering against the commerce of the belligerent powers, regardless of the consequences to themselves or their country.

"The president, however, from his high station, was called upon to view these great events as they might affect his own country, whose destinies, under God, were intrusted to his care; and he felt himself bound to consult the dictates of his judgment, rather than the impulse of his feelings. He foresaw that the storm which was gathering in Europe, must soon reach the United States, and he felt it his duty, as far as possible, here to prevent its desolating effects. In the mighty conflict which was to ensue, a conflict in which all the great European powers either were or must necessarily be engaged, he was satisfied the best interests of his country dictated a state of neutrality; and he was convinced that this course might be pursued without a violation either of national faith or national honour."

The extravagant conduct of Genet is well described, and whoever peruses this chapter, will feel in full force that deep impression of the wisdom, moderation, and firmness of the President's conduct, which was then general, though not universal. Attachment to France, and aversion to Great Britain, had a strong effect on the minds of many, and created a division of opinion, which did not, however, defeat the steady progress of the well planned system of the President. Many of the wild measures of



the turbulent and indefatigable minister of France, are so generally known as not to require from us any recapitulation; but the endeavour to excite our western citizens to break through the prescribed rule of neutrality, by invasion of the Spanish provinces, is perhaps less familiar.

"The French minister projected also an hostile expedition against New-Orleans and Louisiana, from the state of Kentucky. This was put in a train of execution in a more bold and daring manner, than the enterprise against the Floridas from South Carolina and Georgia. Genet soon became acquainted with the views and feelings of the people of the west, concerning the navigation of the Mississippi, as well as their suspicions, that the general government had neglected to urge this subject with Spain in a manner its importance demanded.

"Taking advantage of these feelings, as well as the opposition of the people to the general government, as early as August, 1793, he formed a plan of an expedition from the west, against the Spanish possessions at the mouth of the Mississippi.

"The president, apprized of this, on the 29th of August gave information to the governor of Kentucky, that measures were then taking in Philadelphia, to excite the inhabitants of that state to join in the enterprise. And the governor was desired to attend particularly to any such attempts among the citizens of that state, and to put them on their guard against the consequences of committing acts of hostility against nations at peace with the United States, and to take all legal measures necessary to prevent them. Democratic societies were about the same time formed in Kentucky, and the subject of the navigation of the Mississippi claimed their attention.

"In October 1793, the society at Lexington declared, 'That the right of the people on the waters of the Mississippi, to the navigation, was undoubted; and that it ought to be *peremptorily* demanded of Spain, by the government of the United States.'

"Other publications appeared about the same time, calculated to inflame the people at the west, on a subject in which they felt so deep an interest.

"In this state of public sentiment, the French minister, about the 1st of November, sent four persons to Kentucky, by the names of La Chaise, Charles Depeau, Mathurin, and Gignoux, with orders to engage men in an expedition against New-Orleans and the Spanish possessions; and for this purpose they carried with them blank commissions. The governor of Kentucky was again informed of these movements by the secretary of state, in a letter of the 6th of November, and was furnished not only with the names of the persons then on their way, but a particular description of them—and he was requested to prevent any such enterprise from that state, and if necessary, to employ the militia for that purpose. These emissaries arrived in Kentucky about the last of November, and found not only many of the people of that state ready to engage in the expedition, but the governor himself disposed, if not to countenance, at least to connive at it. Aware, no doubt, of this disposition, two of these Frenchmen, La Chaise and Depeau, on the 25th of November, addressed notes to the governor himself.

"Depeau informed him that he had been despatched by the French ambassador, in company with other Frenchmen, to join the expedition of the Mississippi—but as strange reports had reached him, that his excellency had orders to arrest all who might incline to assist them, he wished to be satisfied on the subject.

"The answer of the governor to Depeau's letter, three days after, was as extraordinary as the letter itself.

"He informed the agent of the French minister, of the '*charge*' he had received from the secretary of state, in the month of August preceding, in nearly the very words of the secretary himself, and he only added, '*to which charge I must pay that attention which my present situation obliges me.*'

"This answer, no doubt, satisfied the French emissaries, and others who saw it, they had nothing to fear from the governor of Kentucky. The project which

now began to be developed, was, to raise two thousand men, under French authority; and for this purpose, French commissions were distributed and received among the citizens of that state. George Rogers Clarke, who had been a revolutionary officer, agreed to command the expedition, and issued *proposals* for raising troops. In these, he styled himself '*major general in the armies of France, and commander in chief of the revolutionary legions on the Mississippi.*'

"The proposals were, 'for raising volunteers for the reduction of the Spanish posts on the Mississippi, for opening the trade of that river, and giving freedom to its inhabitants, &c.'

"The pay and the share of plunder were also settled. All who served in the expedition were entitled to one thousand acres of land—those who would engage for one year, to have two thousand—and those who served two years, or during the war with France, were to have three thousand acres of any unappropriated lands that might be *conquered*—the officers in proportion, and pay as other French troops. All *plunder* to be divided according to the custom of war. Those who preferred money to land, were to receive one dollar per day.

"Governor Shelby, in his answer to the letter of the secretary of state of the 29th August, dated the 5th of October, referring to the supposed enterprise from Kentucky, says, 'I think it my duty to take this early opportunity to assure you, that I shall be particularly attentive to prevent any attempts of that nature from this country. I am well persuaded at present, none such is in contemplation in this state. The citizens of Kentucky possess too just a sense of the obligations they owe to the general government, to embark in any enterprise that would be so injurious to the United States.' After these assurances of co-operation, what must have been the surprise of the president, on receiving the following letter from the same governor, dated the 13th of January, 1794. 'After the date of my last letter to you,' he says to the secretary of state, 'I received information that a commission had been sent to general Clarke, with powers to name and commission other officers, and to raise a body of men; no steps having been taken by him, (as far as come to my knowledge,) to carry this plan into execution, I did not conceive it was either proper or necessary for me to do any thing in the business.

"Two Frenchmen, La Chaise and Depeau, have lately come into this state; I am told they declare publicly, they are in daily expectation of receiving a supply of money, and that as soon as they do receive it, they shall raise a body of men and proceed with them down the river. Whether they have any sufficient reason to expect to get a supply, or any *serious intention of applying it in that manner, if they do receive it, I can form no opinion.*' After requesting the president to give him *full and explicit directions* as to the steps he wished taken, to prevent the contemplated expedition, he added, 'I have great doubts, even if they do attempt to carry their plan into execution, (provided they manage their business with prudence,) whether there is any legal authority to restrain or punish them, at least before they have *actually accomplished it.* For if it is lawful for any one citizen of this state to leave it, it is equally so for any number of them to do it. It is also lawful for them to carry with them any quantity of provisions, arms, and ammunition; and if the act is lawful in itself, there is nothing but the particular intention with which it is done that can possibly make it unlawful; but I know of no law which inflicts a punishment on intention only, or any criterion by which to decide what would be sufficient evidence of that intention, if it was a proper subject of legal censure.

"I shall, upon all occasions, be averse to the exercise of any power which I do not consider myself as being clearly and explicitly invested with, much less would I assume a power to exercise it against men who I consider as friends and brethren, in favour of a man who I view as an *enemy* and a tyrant. I shall also feel but little inclination to take an active part in punishing or restraining any of my fellow-citizens for a supposed intention only, to gratify or remove the fears of the minister of a prince, who openly withholds from us an invaluable right, and who secretly instigates against us a most savage and cruel enemy.

"But whatever may be my private opinion as a man, as a friend to liberty, an American citizen, and an inhabitant of the western waters, I shall at all times

hold it as my duty to perform whatever may be *constitutionally* required of me as governor of Kentucky, by the president of the United States.'

"This letter precluded all expectation of aid against the meditated hostile expedition, from the state authorities of Kentucky. The president, therefore, on the 24th of March 1794, issued his own proclamation, apprizing the people at the west of the unlawful project, and warning them of the consequences of engaging in it. He, about the same time, directed general Wayne to establish a strong military post at fort Massac, on the Ohio, and gave him orders to prevent by force, if necessary, all hostile movements down that river. Soon after these orders were known, an address, 'to the inhabitants of western America,' supposed to have originated from one of the democratic societies, appeared in the gazettes, in which the people at the west were told, that 'the time is come when we ought to relinquish our claim to those blessings, proffered to us by nature, or endeavour to obtain them *at every hazard*. The principles of our confederation have been *totally perverted* by our Atlantic brethren. It is a fact incontestable, that they have endeavoured to deprive us of all that can be important to us as a people.

" 'To you, then, inhabitants of the west ! is reserved the display of those virtues, once the pride and boast of America, uncontaminated with Atlantic luxury—beyond the reach of European influence, the pampered vultures of commercial countries have not found access to your retreat. A noble and just occasion presents itself to assert your rights ; and with your own, perhaps establish those of thousands of your fellow mortals.

" 'Reflect that you may be the glorious instruments, in the hands of Providence, of relieving from the galling chains of slavery, your brethren of Louisiana.'

"The author of this address, alluding to the proclamation of the president, and his orders to general Wayne, says, 'before I close this address, I cannot but observe, with what indignation must the citizens of Kentucky view the conduct of the *general government*, towards them in particular. In answer to their decent and spirited exertions, they receive, instead of assurances of relief from oppression, denunciations from the executive ; and are held up to public view, as the disturbers of the peace of America. And a *miserable fragment* of the mighty legions of the United States, is destined to awe the hosts of freemen who seek but their right.'

"Previous to this address, the president had informed the governor of Kentucky, that negotiations with Spain were pending, and that every exertion was making to bring them to a close, and to secure the free navigation of the Mississippi. This extraordinary enterprise was not finally relinquished, until it was disavowed by the successor of Genet, and the French commissions were recalled."

In our commercial and diplomatic difficulties with the court of Great Britain, the treaty of 1794, and the circumstances attendant upon it, are perspicuously related.

Of the first insurrection which disgraced the state of Pennsylvania, Mr. Pitkin gives a full account, from which we shall make a short extract.

"While the president was exerting himself to prevent a foreign war, he was threatened with a civil war at home. For about three years, the inhabitants of the counties in Pennsylvania lying west of the Allegheny mountains, had opposed the execution of the laws imposing duties on domestic spirits. This opposition, notwithstanding all the exertions of congress and the executive to render the operation of those laws as little burdensome as possible, was now carried to such a length, as seriously to put at hazard the peace, if not the existence of the union. The revenue officers, in attempting to do their duty, were threatened not only with the loss of their property, but their lives ; and in many instances, were personally abused, and compelled to renounce their offices. In the summer of 1794, the marshal of the district, in attempting to execute process on

the delinquents, was attacked by an armed force, and fired upon, but fortunately without injury. He was soon after taken prisoner by an armed mob, his life threatened, and compelled, under the fear of immediate death, to engage not to serve any process on the west side of the Allegheny mountains. In July, the house of general Neville, the inspector, near Pittsburgh, was attacked, but defended with so much spirit, that the assailants were obliged to retire. Apprehending a second and more powerful attack, the inspector applied to the judges, civil magistrates, and military officers for protection. But he was informed that the combination against the execution of the laws, was so general in that quarter, that no protection could be given. The attack was soon after renewed, by about five hundred men. The inspector considering it impossible to resist with effect so large a force, and that his life must be the sacrifice, by the advice of his friends retired to a place of concealment. About eleven men, from the garrison at Pittsburgh, remained, with a hope of saving the property.

"The assailants demanded that the inspector should come out and renounce his office, but were informed, that he had retired, on their approach, to some place unknown. The papers belonging to his office were then required, and after a short but indecisive parley on the subject, the house was attacked, and a firing commenced between its occupants and the insurgents; in consequence of which, one of the assailants was killed, and a number on both sides wounded. The house was at last set on fire and consumed. The marshal and inspector made their escape down the Ohio, and by a circuitous route reached the seat of government. The excise laws, as they were called, were unpopular in some of the other states, and strong indications were given of a more extensive and open opposition.

"The insurgents were no doubt encouraged by individuals, particularly by the democratic societies, in different parts of the union.

"This created no little alarm in the mind of the president, and he entertained serious doubts, whether the militia, if called upon to suppress the insurrection, would obey the orders of the executive. Such, however, was the conduct of the insurgents, that no alternative was left, but either to surrender the government itself into the hands of the lawless and disobedient, or compel submission by military force."

We apprehend the author was under a mistake as to the unwillingness of the militia to concur in suppressing the insurrection. Whatever difference of opinion existed in respect to our foreign relations, however warm were the feelings of great numbers of the citizens in favour of France, there seemed to be but one common sentiment in regard to enforcing the laws at home. No other reluctance was manifested, except the natural and constant aversion of persons engaged in providing for their families, to leave their homes for a long march, and an indeterminate period. The regiments drafted by the orders of the Governor, in pursuance of the requisition from the President, appeared at their respective places of rendezvous with punctuality, and in the city of Philadelphia a volunteer corps of light infantry was formed, under the command of General M'Pherson, and rendered material services.

"The experiment was new, but necessary, and the fate of the republic depended upon the issue. The law had wisely provided, that before resort could be had to the last alternative, an associate justice or district judge of the United States, must declare and give notice, that the laws were opposed, and the execution thereof obstructed by combinations too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, or the powers vested in the marshals; and



that the president should also, by proclamation, command the insurgents to disperse and retire peaceably to their respective homes, within a limited time.

"Such a declaration or notice was given by James Wilson, an associate justice; and on the 7th of August, a proclamation was issued, in which, after stating the various acts and combinations of the insurgents, the president declared — 'and whereas it is in my judgment necessary, under the circumstances of the case, to take measures for calling forth the militia, in order to suppress the combinations aforesaid, and to cause the laws to be duly executed; and I have accordingly determined so to do, feeling the deepest regret for the occasion, but with the most solemn conviction, that the essential interests of the Union demand it—that the very existence of the government, and the fundamental principles of social order, are materially involved in the issue; and that the patriotism and firmness of all good citizens are seriously called upon, as occasion may require, to aid in the effectual suppression of so fatal a spirit.' The insurgents were required to disperse and retire to their respective homes, by the first of the following September. At the time of issuing the proclamation, requisitions were made on the governors of New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, for their quotas of about twelve thousand men, to be organized to march at a minute's warning. The number of troops was afterwards augmented to fifteen thousand."

We differ from the author in considering the legal provision, that before resort could be had to the last alternative, one of the judges of the United States should make the declaration mentioned above, as either wise, or constitutional. It was indeed directed by an act of Congress, and therefore the President deemed himself bound to comply with it, but it is inconsistent with the nice discrimination of power observed in every part of the Constitution, that the judicial should in any manner be blended with the executive authority.

The judges of the Circuit Court were at one time required to examine into the cases of pensioners, and make report thereon to the Secretary of War: they with one accord, although in different places, and without communication with each other, refused to execute the law, assigning as their reasons that the duty required of them was of an executive nature, incompatible with their judicial character. This manly proceeding excited both surprise and dissatisfaction among the members of Congress, but they were obliged to give way, and another provision for the relief of the pensioners was immediately made. It is obvious, that on the same principle, it is unconstitutional to call upon a judge to certify a fact, which, in its nature, properly appertains to the executive alone. The course of proceeding is very clear. The executive power is bound to carry the laws into execution. If an unlawful resistance takes place, the offending parties become the subjects of legal prosecution. The cases are then brought before the judicial authority, where every individual is entitled to be heard with the utmost impartiality—but of this his chance would be much diminished, if the judge, before whom he was tried, had already committed himself, by pronouncing that a powerful and unlawful combination already existed. The fact of such a combination should be proved, like all other facts, not

by *ex parte* affidavits, or reports made by executive officers, but on the same public and equal hearing, according to judicial forms, as the participation of the individual accused is investigated.

We may easily account for the introduction of this provision, from the jealousy, sincerely or affectedly entertained at that period, of the great extension of executive power. Fears were suggested, and perhaps felt, that the President might, if uncontrolled, needlessly draw out a hasty and domestic army, under one pretext, and make use of it for another; that the law, instead of being enforced, might be forgotten, and the freedom of the country be prostrated or endangered at his pleasure. Such apprehensions are idle and groundless; liberty is never subverted by a militia. He who aims at subjugating his country, must provide himself with other materials. Militia are bad soldiers, but they do not cease to be virtuous citizens. They are not separated and estranged by temporary campaigns, from the common sympathies and sensations of the general mass, if that mass is not itself corrupted. Those who are shortly to return to, and remain among them, will not be found to have lost their original principles in the promotion of the ambition of one man, and the subversion of the liberty and happiness of all the rest. A nation must be prepared for slavery, before it can be so enslaved. The people of Rome had greatly degenerated when the factions of Marius and Sylla began to arm against each other; they were still worse when the contest between Cæsar and Pompey took place; and the dagger of Brutus, instead of restoring the republic to life, only showed its complete extinction: but in this respect we have, (at least at present) another safeguard, on which, while it continues, we may confidently rely. In the days of which we are speaking, the city of Rome was the condensation of the whole empire. Whatever was done, or said, or thought, by the crowded multitude there, became the sayings, thoughts, and doings of all Italy, and of most of the provinces. Jugurtha's famous exclamation was confined to Rome, because in characterizing Rome he knew that he described the whole of the Roman world. But here, an immense surface of territory, a diffuse and independent population, a number of rival cities, the improbability that any of them can become so disproportionately large as to overpower the others, will keep alive the expanded and jealous spirit of original principle. To these considerations may be justly added the moral influences of state sovereignty. Nicely and wisely as the general government has been framed by the people, the state sovereignties still remain unimpaired to many and most useful purposes. Some particular subjects of action have been withdrawn from them, but the state itself remains. Individual feeling and attachment are, and ever will be, strongest towards the state alone; there will be no sacrifice of the free-

dom or the rights of the members of individual states to the military despotism in the general government—a despotism, which from its very nature would blot out the distinction of states, and resemble the separation of a domestic family. We may therefore consider the continuance of state sovereignties as the sure preservatives of general freedom, and we may hear without alarm the feverish anticipations occasionally uttered by other politicians, of future destruction from that cause.

The law which required the certificate of a judge, was short-lived, and the President was left to his own responsibility on similar exigencies.

It was natural that a communication of an event, so important and so creditable as the complete and bloodless suppression of a rebellion, which at one time appeared somewhat formidable, should be regularly made to Congress at its first ensuing session. The language made use of was pointed, forcible, and happy.

Another circumstance, connected with our national character, necessarily required the author's attention. It has too long been the disgrace of Europe, that a set of barbarians, seated along the southern coast of the Mediterranean, should have carried on, with so little control, an unsparing and unqualified hostility against the navigation of Christians. If these savage states are unassailable and indestructible on land, their maritime piracies might be wholly put down, or rendered completely inefficient, by a well concerted combination of the superior navies of the Christian powers. In the year 1793, the Algerines, the most formidable among them, were confined within the Mediterranean by the Portuguese, who then being in actual hostility with them, maintained a naval force, which not only prevented them from passing the Straights of Gibraltar, but reduced the number of their cruisers even along their own coasts. Few of our merchant ships, at that time, ventured within the Straights; our commerce with Portugal, and the Spanish and French ports on the Atlantic, was considerable. From Morocco we had nothing to fear. The liberal treaty of 1787, procured by Mr. Barclay, under the auspices of Thomas Jefferson and John Adams, then our ministers at Paris and London, removed all danger from the cruisers of that empire. But we had not yet subscribed to the ignoble vassalage under which this contemptible republic held so many of the lofty sovereigns of Europe. We had not bartered for the privilege of trading within a sea which the God of nature had created for general use, by paying tribute to a colony of Moors and Arabs, situate on a small part of its sterile borders. The mean calculation of expense, the weighing of national dignity, and the Christian character, against cheapness of expenditure and the profits of commerce, had not yet tarnished our history. But

we were at this time thrown into a predicament both unexpected and distressing. It is thus related :—

“ Another event likewise occurred this year, peculiarly distressing to American commerce and seamen, and added not a little to this excitement. For many years, war had existed between Portugal and Algiers. In consequence of this, Algerine cruisers had been confined to the Mediterranean by a Portuguese fleet ; and the commerce of the United States, as well as that of Portugal herself, had been protected in the Atlantic, from the depredations of this regency. In September 1793, an unexpected truce for a year, was concluded between Portugal and Algiers. The dey's cruisers, therefore, immediately, and without previous notice, passed into the Atlantic ; and American vessels, while on their way to Portugal and other parts of Europe, and without the smallest suspicion of danger, became a prey to these lawless freebooters, and many American seamen were doomed to slavery.

“ This unexpected and extraordinary measure was brought about by a British agent at Algiers ; and the Portuguese minister declared to the American consul at Lisbon, that the same had been effected without his knowledge. The Portuguese government, he said, about six months before, had requested the aid of Great Britain and Spain, in bringing about a peace with that regency ; but as no person had been appointed on the part of Portugal, to effect this object, he supposed the business remained only in embryo. Some provisions in the treaty itself, indicated pretty strongly, the truth of this statement of the minister. The British government had guaranteed the performance of it on the part of Portugal ; and by a most extraordinary clause, the Portuguese government was restrained from affording *protection* to any nation against Algerine cruisers.

“ The British minister, Grenville, disavowed any intention to injure the United States ; declaring, that being desired by their friend and ally, to procure a peace with Algiers, the British government had instructed their agent to effect this object, and thereby enable the Portuguese fleet to co-operate with them against France ; and that finding a permanent peace unattainable, he had concluded a truce for a short period.

“ The British ministry, however, must have foreseen, that this measure, in its immediate consequences, would be fatal to American commerce in the Atlantic ; and that hundreds of American seamen must necessarily be consigned to slavery. Nor is it possible to believe, that it should not have occurred to them, that an Algerine fleet would also effectually co-operate in their favourite plan against France. Whatever were the real views of Portugal, she was too dependent on Great Britain to refuse a ratification of the treaty. On the application of the American consul, the Portuguese government furnished a convoy for the vessels of the United States trading to that country, until the treaty should be ratified.

“ The Americans were very justly incensed, that their property should be thus exposed to Algerine rapacity, and their fellow-citizens doomed to slavery without the least warning.”

The conduct of Britain on this occasion, evinced much arrogance and selfishness. It deserves to be more distinctly portrayed.

The depredations of Algiers on our commerce began in 1785. Two of our vessels, one of which was commanded by Captain O'Brien, (whose firmness of character during a long subsequent slavery rendered him conspicuous,) were taken on the coast near to Lisbon. Efforts were made by Congress to effect a treaty of peace and the liberation of the captives. The former was contemptuously refused ; and for the redemption of two persons, the precise amount demanded was 59,496 dollars. Extravagant sums



were also asked by Tripoli and Tunis. The Tripolitan minister at London required 30,000 guineas, as the price of peace with that state, and undertook to engage that of Tunis for a like sum.

The resources of Congress were inadequate to meet such inordinate demands, if it could have brooked an ignominy, which would indeed, in some degree, be lessened by not being peculiar. France, Spain, England, Venice, the United Netherlands, Sweden, and Denmark, were, in 1790, all tributaries to Algiers. Our only alternative was to withdraw our commerce from the Mediterranean. When the war began in 1793 between Great Britain and France, Portugal continued the honourable employment of her marine in restraining these pirates, till near the close of the year, when Great Britain, unquestionably actuated either by a desire to avail itself of the co-operation of the naval force of Portugal, which has been long considered as little more than a British province, or to injure the commerce of this country, suddenly took advantage of a former intimation from the court of Portugal, requesting their intervention "to induce a disposition on the part of the Dey towards the establishment of peace." These were the guarded expressions of Don Luis Pinto de Souza, the secretary of state, to Mr. Humphreys, our minister at Lisbon. The British minister eagerly seized the hint, and (still using the language of Pinto) "zealous over much for the happiness of the two nations, Portugal and Algiers, in order to precipitate this important business, very officiously authorized Charles Logie, the British consul-general and agent at Algiers, not only to treat, but to conclude for and in behalf of the court of Portugal, not only without authority, but without consulting it." A truce was in the first place agreed upon, between the Dey and her most Faithful Majesty, for twelve months, and the British court guarantied it. The Portuguese were to pay the Dey one-third of what he annually received from the court of Spain. But it was instantly declared to the British minister at Lisbon, that Portugal would not pay one farthing to procure a peace, however desirable. In the mean time, the truce was signed by Mr. Logie, and Portugal did not dare to reject it. Such was the controlling influence of Great Britain, and such (at that juncture) was its enmity to the United States.

When Mr. Pinkney complained to Lord Grenville of the injurious effects of this procedure, he was coldly answered, that they had not the least intention of injuring us by it—that they had been applied to by their friend and ally, the court of Portugal, to procure a peace for them, and that Mr. Logie had been instructed to use his endeavours for that purpose,—that finding the arrangement for a peace could not immediately take place, he had concluded the truce, and in this they had done no more than their friendship for a good ally required of them, but that

the measure was also particularly advantageous to themselves, as they wanted the co-operation of the Portuguese fleet to act against the common enemy, which it was at liberty to afford when no longer employed in blocking up the Algerine fleet. The fleet of Portugal, all-powerful against the Algerines, was of little value in the naval war between Great Britain and France; but whatever service it could have rendered, would not have been impaired by providing for the protection of American commerce during the continuance of the truce. The same spirit which a few months before dictated the Orders in Council, to seize and bring into British ports all vessels bound to France, and laden wholly, or in part, with corn, flour, or meal—an order chiefly aimed at American commerce, unquestionably produced the omission both of including us in the benefits of the truce, and of giving any notice to us of its being effected. It is true, that on Mr. Pinkney's informing Lord Grenville that the Portuguese government had promised a convoy to the American vessels *then in their harbour*, he condescended to say, that they would give no opposition to that measure; indicating, in the very answer, the power which they conceived they held over their submissive ally. In respect to all Americans, not then in a Portuguese harbour, those who were cruising the Atlantic, and approaching the coast, there was no sympathy experienced, no kindness extended.

But it was not merely omission in the formation of the truce, of which we had to complain. Mr. Logie ventured to go further. Mr. Church, in a letter to our Secretary of State, from Lisbon, informed him that one of the articles of the truce which was communicated to him by Pinto de Souza, expressly restricted the Portuguese from affording protection to any one nation without exception. Now, such a procedure must have necessarily brought into view those nations which were likely to be affected by it. It was at once telling the Algerines, you are now at liberty to cruise against the Americans, as well as any other nation with which you have no treaty. The American commerce was the most valuable subject of depredation, and the most likely to fall in their way. It would soon be known over Europe that the British had thus opened the kennel of the blood-hounds of Barbary,—but the distance of America rendered it impossible to stay the further progress of ships which might within two months or more proceed to the seat of danger.

The Algerines speedily took advantage of this opportunity and encouragement; a strong squadron was immediately sent through the Straights, many captures were made, and the number of our fellow-citizens in bondage was greatly increased. The compassionate feelings of the President were strongly excited. There were but two modes of extending relief and preventing future outrage; one of these was to declare war, and a sense of national

honour would have immediately suggested this decisive measure. But the war would necessarily be of a naval character. Were it possible to land a force sufficient to take and destroy the town, the punishment would at best be temporary. A greater force than could be spared, must be left to preserve it against the vindictive hordes that would soon be collected. When the conquering party retired, the town would soon be rebuilt, the naval force replaced, and the piracies resumed. The only practicable warfare is by sea, and this in the two modes of blockade and cruising.

On this subject, the sentiments of Count D'Estaing, in a letter to Mr. Jefferson in 1787, appear to us to be just, although we lay no claim to nautical science—"I am convinced," he says, "that by blocking up Algiers *by cross anchoring, and with a long tow*, that is to say, with several cables spliced to each other, and with iron chains, we might always remain there—and there is no barbarian power, thus confined, which would not sue for peace." He then refers to the blockade of Morbihan, on the coast of Brittany, by ships at anchor, continued during the winter; and proceeds a little more in detail, to the auxiliary organization of the blockade; some vessels to be always ready to put to sea, in case any of those in port should go out, while the rest remain at their posts, forming part of the plan, the success of which, if properly managed, he considers indubitable. Even an imperfect blockade, if persisted in with patience and courage, would occasion a perpetual evil to them. But a measure of the sort ought not to rest upon a single nation: it ought to be supported by all the Christian and commercial world. It is the commerce of Christians that is assailed. No hostilities are waged against the Tripolitans, or Tunisians, or the subjects of the emperor of Morocco. The cupidity of the corsair is stimulated by his fanaticism, and the pleasures of lawless acquisition are heightened by his hatred of the Christian sufferer.

If an alliance were formed for the sole object of clearing from these miserable pirates, the beautiful sea, of which one half is margined by flourishing towns, and a peaceable, industrious population, while the other is debased by ferocious barbarians, such an alliance would well deserve the title of a holy one. But for a single power, and particularly for us, so remote, and at that time with a navy so weak, this mode of warfare would be scarcely practicable. Our Constitution having invested Congress alone with the right to declare war, the question was properly submitted to them. Negotiations for peace were proposed. The Dey at first refused to listen to them; he would not make peace with the Americans; he would not admit a minister from them to land upon his shores. The depredations continued, and the captives despaired.

The French government had at that time considerable influence at Algiers, and its policy, contrary to that of Great Britain then, was to assist our commerce—its intervention was asked by our minister, and was readily afforded. The sternness of the Dey was relaxed; Mr. Donaldson was permitted to have access to him, and a treaty of peace was concluded, bearing date the 5th of September 1795, which the Dey and his divan promised to observe, on consideration of the United States paying annually the value of 12,000 Algerine sequins, in maritime stores. The captives were all released at extravagant prices. But this was not the whole of our humiliation; some delays occurred in transmitting the money and other articles; the Dey became incensed, and threatened to break the treaty. To pacify him, Joel Barlow, who had joined Mr. Donaldson, offered, in concurrence with that gentleman, the additional present of a new frigate; after some hesitation, and an increase of the size proposed, it was accepted. A fine vessel of this description was built for the purpose, completely armed, and delivered to him, and thus precarious peace was purchased at the total expense of near a million of dollars.\* We continued to pay the tribute, and were occasionally obliged to submit to mortifications which would scarcely have been imposed by a civilized power.

The case of the *Allegheny* may still be fresh in the minds of some of our readers; but its connexion with the subject induces us shortly to recall it to view. This vessel was sent to Algiers with our homage of naval and military stores, in 1812. The Dey, on her arrival, affected to be dissatisfied with the quantity. The accounts were examined by his officers, and by our consul,—the balance found to be really due was within the value of the *Allegheny's* cargo; but the Algerines insisted that the year should be computed by the Mohammedan calendar, according to which it consists of 354 days, and by these, and some other exactions, he nearly doubled the balance. The Dey threatened that if the sum he claimed was not paid in eight days, he would detain every American then at Algiers in slavery, confiscate the ship and her cargo, and declare war against the United States. There was no remedy but to submit. The fate of this vessel afterwards, was unfortunate. She sailed from Algiers on the 25th of July, bringing with her all the Americans, including Mr. Lear, the consul, and his family. The declaration of war of the 18th of June was probably unknown to him. He might, however, have counted on an application of those principles of humanity which are *sometimes talked of*, as part of the law of nations, and which withholds the severity of war from shipwreck-

\* The Secretary of the Treasury, in his report of January 4th, 1797, states it at \$992,463 25.



ed mariners, and other sufferers of a similar character. But on arriving at Gibraltar, the Allegheny was seized and detained as a prize.

We forbear to notice the proceedings with Tripoli, because our business is to review, and Mr. Pitkin's book is not carried down so low in point of time; but we hope that the period may yet arrive, when the surface of the Mediterranean shall exhibit only the "freighted Argosies" of the merchant, or the flag and guns of the Christian. In our frequent recurrence to this view of the subject, we wish not to be charged with bigotry, or with affectation. But we feel a deep and sincere interest in upholding the profession and the practice of our religion, against all direct or indirect invasion. The imposture of Mohammed has been disseminated and enforced by arms and violence. The Arabian conquerors did not reason with those whom they subdued; the Koran or the sword was the proclaimed alternative; and thus its prodigious extension is accounted for: but of all those whom they subjected, none were more contemptuously or severely treated than the Christians; and even now a Christian may exempt himself from punishment, for almost every crime, by abjuring his religion, and adopting that of Mohammed. We do not seek to extend the knowledge of Christ by means like these. Our missionaries carry no weapon but the Bible, and use no arms but those of reason and persuasion. To unite in the design of preventing infidels from *compelling* apostacy, is not aggression, but defence. To reduce the authors of these invasions of conscience, to future inability, and thus to co-operate with those whose pious office it is to enlighten the blind, and to draw converts from a false to a true religion, is the full extent that we are authorized to go. And while we believe in the pure and holy doctrines which were sealed upon Mount Calvary, while we remember the solemn and parting injunction to preach the Gospel to all nations, we cannot think that to remove impediments to its extension is other than our duty.

The residue of the work before us, is chiefly occupied with the public transactions concerning the treaty of 1794, the conduct of the French ministers, Genet and Fauchet, in this country, and the hostile feelings of France in respect to us, which were manifested after the ratification of the British treaty.

The treatment of Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, whom the President had sent to Paris in the room of Mr. Monroe, strongly resembled the insolence of the Dey of Algiers, in respect to whom we have already noticed the friendly interference of France at a previous period.

The ulterior proceedings, on the arrival of Messrs. Marshall and Gerry, did not fall within the limits of the work. It is concluded with a short account of the President's retiring from his

station, and a few extracts from his valedictory address, which has lately, by the labours of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, been clearly proved to be the sole composition of George Washington.\*

Upon the whole, Mr. Pitkin's book will not rank him among the highest class of historians; his style is not always pure, his manner is not elevated, he seldom attempts delineation of character, seldom presents general views—but his principles are commonly sound, and his narrative impartial.

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#### ART. VII.—THE STEAM-ENGINE.

- 1.—*The Young Steam Engineer's Guide*; by OLIVER EVANS. Philadelphia: H. C. Carey & I. Lea: pp. 140.
- 2.—*An Account of some of the Steam-boats navigating the Hudson River, in the state of New-York. In a letter from JAMES RENWICK, Professor of Natural and Experimental Philosophy and Chemistry, in Columbia College, to Captain Edward Sabine, R. A., Secretary of the Royal Society. From Brander's Journal for October 1828.*
- 3.—*Popular Lectures on the Steam-Engine*; by the Rev. DIONYSIUS LARDNER, LL. D., Professor of Natural Philosophy and Astronomy in the University of London, &c. &c., with additions by JAMES RENWICK, Professor, &c.: New-York: Elam Bliss. 12mo. pp. 172.
- 4.—*History of the Steam-Engine, from the earliest invention to the present time*; by ELIJAH GALLOWAY, Civil Engineer: London: B. Steill: 1827: 8vo. pp. 220.
- 5.—*A Descriptive History of the Steam-Engine*; by R. STUART, Esq. Civil Engineer: London: Knight & Larey. 8vo. pp. 228.
- 6.—*Historical and Descriptive Anecdotes of Steam-Engines, and of their inventors and improvers*; by R. STUART: London: Weightman & Co.: 1829. 2 vols. 18mo.
- 7.—*The Steam-Engine: comprising an account of its invention, &c.*; by T. FREDGOLD, Civil Engineer: London: J. Taylor: 4to. pp. 370.
- 8.—*Notice Sur les Machines à Vapeur*; Par M. ARAGO—from the "*Annuaire pour l'an 1829: Présenté au Roi par le Bureau des Longitudes*;" Paris: Bachelier: 1828.

\* See Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, vol. I. p. 232.

- 9.—*On the Early History of the Steam-Engine; by A. AINGER; from Brande's Journal for October 1829.*
- 10.—*A Treatise on the Steam-Engine, Historical, Practical, and Descriptive: by JOHN FAREY, Engineer: London: Longman & Co. 4to. pp. 728.*

WE shall make no apologies for presenting to our readers an article upon the steam-engine. The subject is, no doubt, hackneyed and familiar; but its importance is such, that it cannot become uninteresting even by repetition. At the present moment, too, a dispute has been renewed as to the priority of discovery between the nations of France and England: while countrymen of our own have claims, that both French and English writers appear too willing to overlook, and which it is our duty as Americans to maintain.

Limited in its original form to a single, and that by no means very important object, the steam-engine has, within our own recollection, become the most useful and extensive in its application, of all the prime movers of machinery. No resistance, however intense, appears to withstand its power; no work, however delicate, is beyond its action; it is alike remarkable for its force and for its versatility; it cannot only lift the heaviest and crush the most refractory substances, but is capable of being directed and regulated in such a manner as to perform the nicest operations of manufacturing industry. It may be seen raising ships of the line from the water, and placing them upon firm ground, rolling and fashioning iron, slitting steel into ribbands, and impelling ships against the united force of the winds and waves; or spinning the wool of Saxony and the cotton of Georgia, and directing the motions of the tambouring needle. A recent writer on the steam-engine, has compared this flexibility of its power to that of the trunk of an elephant, which can alike take up the finest needle, or uproot the firmest oak. But this comparison gives only a faint idea of the properties of the steam-engine.

Our own country has, perhaps, already derived more direct and important benefits from the steam-engine, than any other nation, or we might say, than all the rest of the world united. A population thin and widely scattered, has, by the steam-boat, been brought into more close and active communication than is possessed by any equal number of people in any district of the globe, if we except the most thickly peopled portions of England and Holland. We may leave Philadelphia in the morning, to fulfil an engagement to dine in New-York; or may, within twenty-four hours, be landed at the head of navigation of the Hudson. An inhabitant of New-Orleans, who wishes to visit the eastern states, will find it his easiest, and frequently most expe-

ditionous course, to embark in a steam-boat on the Mississippi, ascend by it and the Ohio to Cincinnati, cross the state of Ohio to Detroit, and embark there in a steam-boat for Buffalo. After descending the New-York canal, he may embark in a steam-boat on the Hudson, and will find his most ready and easy way to Boston to be by New-York and Providence. In this circuit he will perform, with ease to himself, in a few days, what twenty years since would have been the laborious exertion of months.

To England, a priority in the use of the steam-engine, supplied money and men for the most obstinate struggle that history has recorded; money by opening new sources of manufacturing wealth, and men by dispensing with the use of a great portion of the labouring population. She was thus enabled, on the one hand, to keep in check a malecontent subject nation, and on the other, to resist the united strength of the whole of Europe; until at length the same fertile source of riches enabled her to set in motion, not only the people of middle Europe, but the distant nations of Liberian steppes and Caucasian mountains, until the greatest captain the world ever saw bowed at length before the genius of Watt.

Such are the effects that the use of the steam-engine has already produced. Even greater and more important triumphs seem yet to remain. But we wish to indulge in no visionary speculations, no anticipations of future improvements. To show what has already been done, and develop the steps by which the useful application of steam has attained its present importance, will be a task of sufficient extent and difficulty.

Were we to limit our inquiries solely to those who had actually applied the fruits of their researches to useful purposes, we should begin at once with Savary, who was by universal admission the first who constructed a steam-engine except in mere model. He, too, claimed the honours of originality, and supported his claim with much appearance of justice.

Savary had been in early youth employed in the mines of Cornwall, but had afterwards pursued the calling of a mariner. He states, as the origin of his discovery, that happening to throw upon a fire a flask containing a small quantity of wine, he perceived the wine to boil, and the whole of the flask was filled with its steam. The observation is a familiar one, and the same fact must have been witnessed before in innumerable instances. What ideas the sight of it produced in his mind we know not; but they must have been extremely just, and founded upon a full acquaintance with all the pneumatic science of the day; for he immediately seized the flask and plunged the neck into water. The result, whether expected or unexpected to him, is familiar at the present day; the steam was condensed, and the flask was filled with water. His early associations led him to consider the re-



sult as important, and suggested to him the idea of applying the principle to the raising of water from mines. We have no good reason for doubting the truth of his statement, and it besides derives corroboration from the very form of his engine. It is in fact no more than a large flask, and differs in this respect wholly from all the engines which have been brought forward as prior to his in point of time. Others, no doubt, had preceded him in the investigation, but they had brought their inventions to no practical result; and although numerous names, of the highest reputation, are combined in support of a charge of plagiarism against him, we must say that we can see no cause for considering it as well founded. So little, in truth, had been done, or was known in respect to the value of steam as a moving power, that when Savary proposed his engine, and even after it had been brought into limited use, he was compelled to defend himself against the charge of being a mere schemer; yet no sooner were his anticipations realized, than it was attempted to rob him of all merit in the discovery.

His defence against the former charge we shall quote.

"I am not fond of lying under the scandal of a bare projector, and therefore present you with a draught of my machine, and lay before you the uses of it, and leave to your consideration whether it be worth your while to make use of it or no. I can easily give grains of allowance for your suspicions, because I know very well what miscarriages there have been by people ignorant of what they pretend to do. These I know have been so frequent and so promising at first, but so short of performing what they pretend to, that your prudence and discretion will not suffer you to believe any thing without a demonstration, your appetite to new inventions of this kind having been baulked too often; yet after all, I must beg you not to condemn me, before you read what I have to say for myself; and let not the failures of others prejudice me, or be placed to my account. I have often lamented the want of understanding the true powers of nature, which misfortune has of late put some on making such vast engines and machines, both troublesome and expensive, yet of no manner of use; inasmuch as the old engines used many ages past far exceeded them. And I fear, whoever by the old causes of motion pretends to improvements within the last century, does betray his knowledge and judgment; for more than one hundred years since, men and horses could raise by engines as much water as they have ever done since, or, I believe, according to the law of nature, ever will do."

Savary's fate has been singular: his cotemporaries endeavoured to rob him of the merit of originality, and in modern days, an author, who has done much to re-establish his credit in this respect, ascribes his discoveries to pure chance, and doubts his acquaintance with any of the scientific principles that are concerned in the operation of his engine.

The apparatus of Savary may be compared in principle to the combination of a common with a forcing pump. Steam, generated in a separate boiler, is first admitted into a vessel of an ellipsoidal form, from which it expels the air; a communication is next made between this vessel and the body of water to be raised, by opening a valve in a long pipe that connects the steam-vessel

with the reservoir, and at the same time the communication with the boiler is closed; the steam within the vessel would be condensed by the contact of the cold water from beneath, but this condensation is rendered more rapid by pouring water upon the outer surface of the steam-vessel. As the steam is condensed, the water of the reservoir is forced up into the vessel by the pressure of the atmosphere.

This part of the process is of course similar to the action of a common pump, and is in theory limited to the same altitude of 34 feet; but the difficulty of obtaining a perfect vacuum, by the condensation of steam, opposes an obstacle, and water cannot be raised by this part of the engine to a height of more than 25 feet.

Water, which boils under the ordinary pressure of the atmosphere at a temperature of  $212^{\circ}$ , rises in vapour at all temperatures, and boils under diminished pressure at regularly decreasing temperatures; thus it happens, that as one mass of steam is condensed, fresh vapour is formed, which resists the atmospheric pressure, and lessens both the velocity of the ascending water, and the height to which it can be raised.

When, by the process we have detailed, the steam-vessel has been filled with water, the rising pipe is closed, and the communication with the boiler re-opened; at the same moment, a valve in a lateral pipe is opened. The steam, rushing from the boiler, acts upon the surface of the water, by its elastic force, and compels it to rise in the lateral pipe, from the top of which it is discharged. This part of the process has its limits in the strength of the materials, and in the force of the steam employed. The vapour of water boiling in an open vessel, has a force only equivalent to the pressure of the atmosphere, and hence is incapable of acting against that pressure, and thus raising water at all; high steam, as it is styled, or that generated under pressure in a close vessel, must therefore be used. In the engines constructed by Savary, steam was used of sufficient force to raise water by this part of the process, which resembles the action of the forcing pump, to a height of 65 feet, which, added to the 25 feet it is elevated by the pressure of the atmosphere, makes a total altitude of 90 feet.

This engine of Savary's was limited, therefore, to a single object, that of raising water, and even this it did to great disadvantage. One of its defects was the imperfection of the vacuum formed, but this was wholly unimportant, when compared with the waste of heat growing out of the necessity of filling the steam-vessel alternately with water of a low temperature, and steam of high pressure. The latter would be condensed against the sides of the vessel and the surface of the water, and would not begin to act mechanically until both were raised to the tem-

perature of boiling water, nor would it produce its full effect, until both were heated to the degree necessary to maintain the steam of an elasticity appropriate to the height of the place of discharge. In this way, it has been found, by careful experiment, that eleven-twelfths of the steam were condensed, and of course a similar proportion of fuel wasted. Still, however, the introduction of this engine was not only important as a step to the construction of more perfect ones, but was itself susceptible of applications that were valuable, when compared with previous modes of raising water. In mines, however, it was of little use, as it became necessary to use several tiers of engines in those of any great depth; and moreover, its use would, even in the present state of the mechanic arts, have been attended with danger, from the force of the steam it demanded; and was at that time still more liable to explosion.

In opposition to the claims of Savary as an inventor, the French set up those of their countryman, Papin. These have been recently fully set forth by Arago, in the little memoir placed at the head of this article. The engine usually figured as Papin's, an account of which was not published until 1707, nine years later than the date of Savary's patent, is abandoned by Arago, as not suited to his argument, and he rests for his proof upon a prior form, explained by Papin in the *Leipzig Transactions* for 1688, and exhibited to the Royal Society of London the previous year, (1687.) The engine, as described by Arago, consisted of a cylindrical vessel, open at top, and having a valve, opening upwards, in its bottom. It was proposed by Papin to form a vacuum beneath the piston, which would thus be caused to descend by the pressure of the atmosphere. For this purpose, he first attempted to employ gunpowder, but was compelled to abandon it as unfit to accomplish his object. "I then endeavoured," he adds, "to accomplish my object in another manner; and as water has the property, when turned into steam by heat, of being elastic like air, and of being condensed so completely by cold that no trace of this elasticity remains, I have thought that it would not be difficult to make machines, in which, by means of a moderate heat, generated at small cost, water might form the perfect vacuum I had in vain sought by means of gunpowder."—The water was heated within the cylinder by the application of fire to the bottom, and was also condensed within the same vessel. Ainger, however, denies that there was any valve in Papin's apparatus, and we are rather inclined, from the perusal at second hand of the paper, to believe that he is right. If so, it was neither more nor less than the same with Wollaston's apparatus, to illustrate the generation and condensation of steam, and incapable of any useful application whatever. It is very clear, we conceive, that there is nothing in this description

that could have given the least hint to Savary. There is no analogy in any part of the action of the two engines, except that both are moved by the aid of steam, alternately generated and condensed; and even the separate boiler, which undoubtedly required a greater effort of mind on the part of Savary, to add to his original apparatus, than would have been necessary to adapt it to Papin's cylinder, does not appear to have occurred to the latter. However well adapted, as a philosophical apparatus, to illustrate the alternate formation and condensation of steam, it was obviously (even if we admit it had the valve described by Arago beneath it) unfit, from the slowness of its operation, for any practical use. The first model made but one stroke per minute, and he was never able to increase the number beyond four. It is, however, of great interest in one respect, as being the germe of an engine formed of a cylinder, in which a piston moves with an alternating motion, a mode of action that is common to every valuable variety of the steam-engine at present in use. Savary's claims have also been disputed among his own countrymen, who have accused him of borrowing all that is valuable in his engine from the Marquis of Worcester. This nobleman lived during the troubled times of the two Charles' and the Commonwealth. He was himself no unimportant actor in the eventful scenes of that era; an era, perhaps, more fertile in great names than any other age, except that of Pericles, and the revival of letters in Europe. Induced by his rank, his station, and his connexions, to take the royal side, he suffered, with the rest of that unfortunate party, the pains of exile, imprisonment, and poverty. During this melancholy period, he appears to have devoted himself to mechanical pursuits. The fruit of his labours he has recorded in a little work styled "A Scantling of One Hundred Inventions," better known as his "Century of Inventions." In this book he announces, in quaint and almost unintelligible language, that number of discoveries made by himself. The merit of the Marquis of Worcester is variously appreciated; some are almost inclined to find, in this little work, the germe of every important invention that has occurred since his day, while others look upon it as wholly visionary. The truth appears to lie between the two opinions; for it seems now evident, that many of his plans were actually brought to the test of experience, although some were unquestionably the vague conceptions of a speculative mind. Some of those, the most extravagant to appearance, have since been found practicable; and of all, the steam-engine, as announced by him, would, to one unacquainted with its action, appear the most unlikely to be successful. We shall quote the description in the author's own words:—

"An admirable and most forcible way to drive up water by fire, not by drawing or sucking it upwards, for that must be, as the philosopher calls it, *infra sphæ-*



*rum activitatis*, which is but at such a distance. But this way hath no bounder, if the vessels be strong enough; for I have taken a piece of a whole cannon, whereof the end was burst, and filled it three quarters full, stopping and screwing up the broken end, as also the touchhole, and making a constant fire under it; within twenty-four hours it burst, and made a great crack; so that having found a way to make my vessels, so that they are strengthened by the force within them, and the one to fill after the other, I have seen the water run like a constant fountain-stream forty feet high; one vessel of water rarified by fire driveth up forty feet of cold water; and a man that tends the work is but to turn two cocks, that one vessel of water being consumed, another begins to force and refill with cold water, and so successively, the fire being tended and kept constant, which the self-same person may likewise abundantly perform in the interim, between the necessity of turning the said cocks."

The amount of the evidence furnished by this extract is, that the Marquis of Worcester had unquestionably executed a machine capable of raising water, by the action of the expansive force of high steam; but, on the other hand, he gives so vague a description, that, while it might excite curiosity, and the ambition of rivalling him, it could furnish no aid to the researches of subsequent inquirers.

The engine described by Papin, in 1707, is upon the same principle as that of Worcester, and although more convenient and safe than the description of the latter would appear to warrant his to be, is not superior in effect. It has the disadvantages common to his and Savary's, and wants the atmospheric action which the latter possesses, and which increases its power materially. He now admits an acquaintance with the engine of Savary, from whom he has evidently borrowed the separate boiler. In Papin's engine, however, is to be seen the first application of that most important addition, the safety valve; an apparatus which he had originally adapted to his own Digester, and now proposes to add to the steam-engine. The value of this in increasing the safety and consequent utility of the steam-engine, is very great; and we are the more indebted to him for it, since, simple as its principle is, it had escaped Worcester and Savary, as well as all their predecessors.

Of those it is now time to speak; for however unimportant any of their plans may have been, from having never been applied to any practical use, still it cannot be doubted that a knowledge of their inquiries must have had an effect in exciting the curiosity of those who were finally successful.

First on the list must be placed the elder Hiero of Alexandria, who lived under the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, 120 years before the Christian era. He describes, in one of the three works which alone remain out of many that were composed by him, a machine, to which a rotary motion was given by steam issuing from a pipe and reacting upon the apparatus. Possessed of but little power, it is still interesting as a proof of the advance of that remote age in physical knowledge, and of the acquirements

of the pupil of that philosopher, to whom we owe the pump, and the wheel and pinion. Of the vast power of aqueous vapour, the ancients, however, do not appear to have been ignorant; and Aristotle in particular attributes earthquakes to the sudden formation of steam in the bowels of the earth. This formation is, according to him, effected by subterranean heat.

The apparatus of Hiero was one in which a rotary motion was produced by reaction. Steam issuing from jets placed in the direction of tangents to the circumference of a circle, caused it to revolve in a direction opposite to that of their openings. The same principle has frequently been tried by others, but without producing any powerful effect. An elastic fluid, particularly one which rapidly condenses, is incapable of the powerful effects of a liquid under similar circumstances. The most ingenious attempt of this sort we recollect to have seen, was one of Count Real, who, during his residence in this country, sought to make a steam-boat without paddle wheels, in order to fit it for the navigation of canals.

After the time of Hiero, no attempts are to be found in ancient times to apply steam to any mechanical object, and the historians of the Steam-Engine have usually passed directly from him to Branca. In 1826, however, Navarette, a Spaniard of high scientific attainment and research, communicated to the "*Correspondence Astronomique*" of de Zach, a notice of a document preserved among the Royal Archives of Spain, whence he attempts to claim for his countrymen not only the merit of being the first to make a useful steam-engine, but even that of constructing the first steam-boat.

The letter of Gonzalez, the director of the Royal Archives at Simancas, to Navarette, is as follows:—

"Blasco de Garay, a sea captain, proposed, in the year 1543, to the Emperor Charles V., a machine to propel vessels and flotillas, even in times of calm, without either oars or sails.

"In spite of the obstacles and opposition which this project had to sustain, the Emperor ordered that an experiment should be made upon it, in the harbour of Barcelona, and this was actually done, on the 17th June 1543.

"Garay was unwilling to disclose the detail of his discovery. It was notwithstanding seen, at the moment of the experiment, that it consisted in a great vessel of boiling water, and in wheels attached to each side of the vessel.

"The experiment was made upon a vessel of 200 tons, called the Trinity, which had arrived from Colibra with a cargo of grain, under the command of Captain Pedro de Harga.

"The experiment was witnessed, at the command of Charles V., by Don Henry de Toledo, the Governor Don Pedro de Cardona, the Treasurer Ravago, the Vice-chancellor, and the Intendant of Catalonia.

"In the reports made to the Emperor and the Prince, all approved of this ingenious invention, particularly on account of the readiness and ease with which the vessel was tacked.

"The Treasurer Ravago, who was an enemy of the project, says that the vessel could move at the rate of two leagues in three hours; but that the machine was too complicated, and cost too much; besides, that there was danger of the

boiler's bursting. The other commissioners asserted that the vessel was manoeuvred with as much ease as a galley of the ordinary description, and went at least a league per hour.

"After the experiment was made, Garay carried off all the apparatus with which he had fitted the vessel; he placed only the wooden parts in the arsenal of Barcelona, and retained all the rest for himself.

"In spite of the opposition of Ravago, the invention of Garay was approved, and had not Charles V. been at the moment engaged in matters he considered of more importance, he would without doubt have encouraged it.

"In spite of all this, the Emperor promoted the inventor one step, made him a present of 200,000 marvedis, ordered the treasurer to pay all the charges and expenses of the experiment, and granted him, in addition, several favours.

"The above is the substance of the documents and original registers preserved in the Royal Archives of Simancas, among those which relate to the commerce of Catalonia, and those of the offices of the Secretaries of War and the Navy for the said year 1543.

“(Signed)

THOMAS GONZALEZ.

“*Simancas, 27th August, 1825.*”

We must say, that if, as the characters of the two witnesses give us every reason to believe, the documents are authentic, and the extracts correct, this looks much like a successful experiment, not only on the steam-engine, but on the steam-boat. And we cannot enter into the views of Arago, who, wishing to retain the honour of both for his own countrymen, disputes the inference of Navarette, that steam-boats were originally invented in Spain, nearly three centuries since, and only re-invented in our own days. The objection of Ravago is conclusive evidence that the boiler contained high steam; and this, applied to the reacting machine of Hiero, is capable of producing all the effects described by the commissioners: certainly neither as economically nor as safely as a modern steam-engine, but still with power adequate to the object.

A claim, bearing the date of 1615, is likewise made for a Frenchman named de Causs, as inventor of the steam-engine; but we are satisfied that it was of so imperfect a character as not even to have furnished a hint to subsequent investigators. At all events, it was incapable of any useful application, as will appear from the simple fact, that it was limited in its action to the raising of the water contained in the same boiler in which the steam was generated.

The Italian, Branca, also describes, in 1629, a machine, where, the vapour issuing from an Eolopyle was made to act upon a wheel and turn it around. This, however, is a worse application than the reaction used by Hiero, and was certainly no step to the machines of Savary or Newcomen.

The limited action of the machine of Savary, and the danger attending it, prevented its coming into general use, or being followed by any important advantages, either to the inventor or the public. The first machine which can be cited as of any real utility, was that of Newcomen. In the importance of his invention, a recent writer has even been inclined to place him far

above Watt. We must, however, dissent from his opinion, inasmuch as had his engine been even as complete in its action as Watt's, it was limited to a single object, while Watt's is commensurate in its applications with the wants of the human race, and the progress of mechanical industry.

Newcomen had for a partner a person of the name of Cawley, and it is by no means settled what share each had in the invention, although the general impression seems to be that the former is entitled to the greater part of the merit of discovery, while the latter had no other agency than one purely mercantile. Newcomen, although exercising the petty trade of an ironmonger, in an obscure town in a remote part of England, was not destitute of scientific knowledge, as is manifest from his being in active correspondence with Hooke, the secretary of the Royal Society, who combined the skill of practice with profound theoretic knowledge of Mechanics, in a degree superior to most men.

The principle of Newcomen's engine may be thus illustrated:—

If a piston be fitted air tight in a cylinder, and attached to a balance beam by a rod and chain, and if the other end of the balance beam be loaded with a heavy weight; so long as the cylinder has a free communication with the external air, the beam will rest in an inclined position, determined by the space which the weight can descend before it reaches the earth or any other support. If the cylinder be made to communicate at bottom with a boiler in which steam is generated, the steam will enter and fill the cylinder, driving from it all the air it previously contained. If the communication with the outer air be closed, the flow of steam cut off, and the steam within the cylinder condensed, the pressure of the air acting upon the upper surface of the piston, will tend to force it down; and if the weight with which the opposite end of the beam is loaded be not too great, the piston, thus pressed by the air, will preponderate, and descend until it reach the bottom of the cylinder, raising the weight through an equal space on the opposite end of the apparatus. If the steam be again permitted to flow from the boiler, the pressure on the opposite sides of the piston will be equalized, and the weight will again descend, causing the balance-beam to oscillate, and raising the piston to its primitive position. A repetition of the operation will cause another oscillation; and if to the end of the beam that carries the weight be attached a pump rod, a saw, or any other apparatus working with an alternating rectilineal motion, it may be driven by such an engine.

Papin merely states that the steam in his cylinder may be condensed by cold, but points out no means of producing it. Savary, on the other hand, found, that to pour cold water on the



surface of his vessels, was efficient in the condensation of the contained steam. This mode was at first adopted by Newcomen, but was so obviously the invention of Savary, that the latter was successful in establishing his claim to it, and in procuring that his name should be associated with those of Newcomen and Cawley, in the patent they were applying for.

The separate boiler of Savary might also have furnished another fair ground of claim; for although the phraseology of the Marquis of Worcester is to us satisfactory proof of his having used a boiler distinct from his vessels, still, it is by no means such a description as would have conveyed that intelligence to one who had never seen it used. Arago maintains, that the machine of Newcomen is an exact copy of the first apparatus of Papin, and that in expressing that the steam might be condensed by cold, he had pointed out the method, by effusion of cold water, used both by Savary and Newcomen. In this we think his argument is unsuccessful; for in the experiments performed by Papin, it is clear that this simple and obvious method had never occurred to him.

The engine of Newcomen was susceptible at once of applications for which Savary's was unfitted. It was perfectly safe, because steam of a pressure greater than that of the atmosphere need never be employed; yet with steam of little or no expansive force, it was capable of raising water, by means of a pump, to any height compatible with the strength of the materials of which the pump was composed. It hence was introduced, immediately after its invention, into the mines of England, and gradually diffused itself over the continent of Europe; nor has it ceased to be used even at the present day, in places where fuel is abundant. The defects of Savary's engine, of which we have spoken, viz. that it was impossible to form a perfect vacuum, and that the cooling of the cylinder at each condensation of the steam within it, caused a great waste of steam, and consequent expenditure of fuel, were still to be found in Newcomen's. It was besides limited to but one species of action, namely, an alternating one, and even in that it could exert power only in one of the directions of the reciprocating motion. Hence it was incapable of all the more important uses to which we apply the steam-engine at the present day.

We are compelled, for want of space, to pass over the history of the various improvements and additions made to the engine of Newcomen, by which its action was rendered more simple and effective, and by which it was relieved of the expense and trouble of constant attendance upon the opening and shutting of its valves. In the hands of Smeaton it became wholly self-acting, except so far as the supply of fuel was concerned.

All the world knows, that it is to Watt that the discovery of

the causes of the principal defects of Newcomen's engine, and of the methods by which they were remedied, is due. The labours of his predecessors, when compared with his, would sink into utter oblivion, were it not that he commenced his career, not from simple first principles, but in the attempt to remedy the imperfections of Newcomen.

James Watt\* was born at Greenock, in Scotland, in the year 1736, of respectable, but poor parents. His constitution was feeble, and promised no long life ; but this apparent misfortune gave birth to the habits of retirement and close application, so important in all matters that require the exertion of mind. He owed his education to one of those establishments for which Scotland is so deservedly celebrated, in which the children of the poor receive an elementary education, equal to the best that can be obtained by the rich. In these institutions, all are equally instructed in the rudiments of classical literature and the lower branches of the mathematics. Leaving the grammar school at the age of sixteen, he served an apprenticeship to the trade of a maker of mathematical instruments, in which he continued for four years. Passing thence to London, he worked as a journeyman at the same trade, but was compelled to return to his natal climate by the state of his health. He settled at Glasgow, and was immediately appointed, by the University of that city, to the charge of their cabinet of models and philosophical apparatus. In virtue of this employment, he had a lodging in the college, and permission to carry on his business for his private account. Professor Robinson, who became the historian of his improvements, was then a student of the University, and had, it seems, a project for propelling carriages by steam, on which he consulted Watt, and induced him to enter into the examination of the methods proper to carry it into effect. Their plans and experiments were, however, failures.

In the year 1764, it became his duty to repair a model of Newcomen's engine, which was a part of the apparatus of the University : astonished at the smallness of the effect he found it to produce, when compared with the expenditure of fuel, he was led to the investigation of the cause, and actually discovered, in respect to the vapour of water, the law of latent heat, which Dr. Black, a professor of the same University, was at the moment investigating in a more general manner.

Although the vapour of water has a temperature no higher than the water whence it issues, yet, in the change of physical state, a quantity of heat much greater than is required to raise the same water to the temperature at which it begins to boil, is absorbed, or becomes insensible. The same heat is given out

\* Arago. *Annuaire* for 1829—p. 188.

again in a sensible form, when the vapour is condensed; and the condensation of steam is due to the giving out of this heat to the bodies in contact with it. Hence, when in the engine of Newcomen the steam begins to flow into the cylinder, coming into contact with its cold sides, it condenses upon them, until they acquire a temperature equal to that of the water in the boiler. When, again, the condensation is to be produced, the jet of water, which is admitted for that purpose, must be cold, and will cool the cylinder down again to its original temperature. The heating of the cylinder must again be completed, before the steam can collect in it. These alternate heatings and coolings take place at each stroke of the engine, and the steam consumed in them is not less than five times as much as will suffice simply to fill the cylinder. On the other hand, as we have once before stated, the vacuum arising from the condensation is far from perfect, in consequence of the formation of new elastic fluid at lower temperatures, under the diminished pressure. For the first of these defects, a remedy at once presented itself, which was to condense the steam in a separate vessel, kept constantly cool by being placed in water, while the cylinder itself should be free from the refrigerating influence of the jet. The remedy for the second was less obvious, and the discovery is even claimed; but we think with little probability, by another. It consisted in adapting to the separate condenser, an air pump, by which the vacuum within it was rendered as perfect as is possible, by exhaustion. The cylinder, before the time of Watt, had been but badly bored; and to render the piston air tight, it had been necessary to keep a mass of water floating on its surface. This concurred, with the condensing water, to lower the temperature of the cylinder. We have not before mentioned this as a defect in Newcomen's engine, for it was one merely of mechanical construction, and not like the others we have spoken of, inherent in the principle of the engine. This would, however, have rendered the other improvements of no value, and was therefore obviated by a more perfect method of boring, and by a packing for the piston, of oiled hemp, in the place of the water before used.

Even the influence of the atmosphere upon the temperature of the cylinder, was thought by Watt worthy of attention; he therefore found means to use steam instead of air, to press the piston downwards. The cylinder was closed at top, and the piston rod made to work through a collar; the return of the piston to its original position, under the action of the counterpoising weight, was effected in a manner equally simple and ingenious.

To diminish the loss of heat still farther, the cylinder was enclosed within another, and the intervening space filled with steam; the heated water from the condenser was pumped back

to the boiler. So great was the saving of fuel produced by these several improvements, that the patentees demanded no more than one third part of the value of this saving, as a remuneration for the use of their privilege, and a single mine in Cornwall, where three of their engines were employed; this was commuted for the sum of £8000 sterling per annum. Such were the changes in the atmospheric engine introduced by Watt, and such their enormous value.

The engine was still incapable of performing any continuous work, but was solely applicable to pumping water, or operations of a similar description, where the return of the piston, without exerting any force, was consistent with the nature of the work to be performed. Watt was not contented to stop here. Indeed, the state of England seemed imperatively to call for the introduction of some new natural agent applicable to general purposes. The whole of the sites of water power had been occupied, and were insufficient for the growing improvement of manufactures; while wind is too uncertain and precarious to be of any value in a regular and orderly business.

Watt, having introduced steam to work his piston in its descent, instead of atmospheric pressure, must have speedily seen that the former would be as efficient in forcing the piston up, provided he could form a vacuum above it. For this purpose, he contrived a communication between the lower part of his cylinder and the boiler, while another was made between the upper part of the cylinder and the condenser. The piston thus became capable of rising and descending with equal force. The old mode of connecting the piston rod with the beam, now became objectionable; for although the chains which united them were well fitted to convey the action of the descending piston to the beam, and thence to the pump rod, they could not transmit a pressure upwards. To make the piston rod act with equal power upon the beam both in its ascent and descent, Watt invented the parallel motion. This is composed of a parallelogram, whose sides are connected by pivots in such a manner as to have a free motion at the angles: two of the pivots are situated upon the balance beam; one at the head of the piston rod; the fourth is connected to a fixed point in the frame of the engine, by a rod, turning also upon a pivot. The two points in the working beam describe circles, whose centre is the centre of motion of that part of the machine; the last mentioned of the four pivots describes a circle, turned in the opposite direction, around the fixed point with which it is connected, and the head of the piston rod is thus constrained to pursue a path, which, although in truth a portion of curve of contrary flexure, does not, within the limits of the machine's motion, differ sensibly from a straight line. Thus the piston rod is guided in such a manner as to perform a rectilineal



path, while it acts constantly, and with but small obliquity, upon a point which describes an arc of a circle, with a reciprocating motion.

The corresponding motion of the opposite end of the beam is also circular, and reciprocating. But in most of the useful arts and manufactures, the motions must be continuous, as well as circular. To adapt such motions to those of the engine, and enable the latter to produce them efficiently, Watt fell at once upon the obvious method of the crank, which he proposed to attach to the balance beam by a connecting rod. One of his workmen, however, becoming aware of his intention fraudulently, posted to London, and pre-occupied the ground by taking out a patent. Unwilling to involve himself in a contest, Watt abandoned the crank, and contrived to effect the object by another apparatus, which he styled the sun-planet wheel. We shall not describe this, as it ceased to be used with the necessity that produced it; at the present day, it is worthy of notice only as a specimen of the mechanic resources possessed by the mind of Watt.

The crank is made to turn a heavy fly-wheel, by which the varying motion of a reciprocating piston is rendered equable and continuous in its effects upon the attached machinery. No contrivance can, in truth, exceed a crank in its advantages, when applied to such a purpose. At the time when the engine, having reached its limit of motion, is about to return in an opposite direction, the arm of the crank moves exactly at right angles to the connecting rod, and thus the motion of the fly-wheel neither interferes with that of the engine, nor is checked by the change of the direction of its motion. The sun-planet wheel possesses the same property, which is not to be found in any other of the innumerable substitutes that have been proposed for them.

A fly-wheel is only efficient in regulating a motion that varies within certain prescribed limits, but is incapable of controlling any constant acceleration or retardation in the varying motion itself. It would do no more than render this variation regular. If then the force of the steam should increase or diminish, or the work to be performed should vary in quantity, the fly-wheel will have its rate of motion accelerated or retarded in consequence. But as all nice processes in manufactures must be performed at a uniform rate, it becomes necessary to control the action of the moving power in such a manner that the oscillations of the piston shall not exceed or fall short of a certain number in a given time. To meet this, Watt placed an additional valve upon the pipe that supplies the engine with steam, and caused it to be opened or shut, or its aperture to vary in size, with the velocity of the engine. A conical pendulum, called the *governor*, is set in motion by the engine, and communicates by

a series of levers with this, called the *throttle valve*. When the velocity of the engine exceeds the proper rate, the balls of the conical pendulum fly out, and by the intervention of the system of levers, lessen, or cut off altogether, the flow of steam; but when the velocity becomes too small, the balls collapse, and enlarge the opening of the throttle valve.

When the fire is too intense, or the governor permits but little steam to pass the throttle valve, steam may accumulate in the boiler, and its expansive force will be increased in consequence. All fear of danger arising from this cause is removed by the application of Papin's invention of the safety valve. But as the escape of steam through this valve would be wasteful, a contrivance has been adapted by which the consumption of the fuel itself is regulated. A piston works air and steam-tight in a tube inserted vertically in the upper surface of the boiler. To this is attached, by a chain passing over a pulley, a damper, that drops in a groove across a horizontal part of the chimney. An increased pressure of steam causes the piston to ascend, and the damper to close the flue; the lessening of the pressure of the steam, permits the piston to descend, and raises the damper, and thus the draught of the fire will be adapted to the demand for the steam.

The admission of water into the boiler is regulated by a valve, worked in a similar manner, by a float upon the surface of the liquid within it. Were the steam to flow constantly from the boiler to the steam valves, the piston would be urged forwards until it reached the top or the bottom of the cylinder, and there act with violence. The inertia, too, of the machine, would resist the change of motion, and in these two actions a considerable quantity of power would be expended, while the engine would be liable to much wear in consequence. Such was the case with all the earlier engines, and the defect exists in many even to the present day. But in his later engines, Watt introduced a valve that cuts off the steam when the piston is in the middle of its ascent and descent; the steam will still act expansively for a time, but its force will gradually diminish, and the friction will finally become sufficient to overcome the inertia of the engine. The use of this valve has not only a tendency to render the motion of the machine more steady and equable, and to diminish its wear, but it will enable it to exert an equal power at a less expense of steam.

With these additions, and the aid of the best and most careful workmanship, the steam engine has assumed a regularity and accuracy of working, that are almost incredible, when compared with its vast power. The sound produced by the motion of the parts is little more than that of a clock, and its regularity is almost as great as that piece of mechanism. Such are the machines used in the finer manufactures of Great Britain, which in per-

fection of workmanship and smoothness of motion, no other part of the world has yet equalled. With us, cheapness and power have been the objects most in request, and the steam-engine has not yet been applied, in any extent, to purposes that require great regularity. The great application of our engines is to the propulsion of steam-boats, and in them the obvious desideratum is to make the engine perform as many oscillations as possible, without any care as to the equality of these among themselves in number, at different intervals of time.

Beautiful in principle, and perfect in execution as the engine of Watt is, the time is notwithstanding rapidly approaching, when it will be superseded by one of more efficient action, although less indebted to science for its form and character. This is the high pressure engine.

The vapour of water increases in its expansive force in geometric ratio, while its temperature increases in arithmetic only; and the latter increase is produced by quantities of fuel proportioned to its quantity simply. Hence a double quantity of fuel produces steam of four times the expansive force. A high pressure engine, in its simplest form, works loaded with the pressure of the atmosphere, and hence steam equal in force to two atmospheres, is only equal in its action in a high pressure engine to what is performed by steam of the force of a single atmosphere in Watt's engine. But since the improvements which constant practice in the structure of engines has introduced, it has become safe to use steam, equal in force to four or five atmospheres, or even more. Now, since steam of a force equal to four atmospheres, is generated by only twice the quantity of fuel, while no more than one atmosphere is lost by the want of condensation, and the friction is also lessened, there is an economy of more than one third in using the high steam. In addition, the high pressure engine of equal force is simpler, smaller, and less costly, and the boiler smaller; and thus not only is there an economy in the daily consumption of fuel, but one of considerable moment in the original capital. The waste steam too, may be made to pass through the cistern of water whence the boiler is supplied, and an additional economy thus obtained. All that is necessary, therefore, to secure the success of the high pressure engine is, that it shall be rendered equally safe with that worked by steam of lower temperature. This, as we shall see, is possible in almost every case.

Arago claims the invention of the high pressure engine, as well as the atmospheric, for his countryman Papin; we, however, conceive, without sufficient evidence. Leupold, however, who in 1720 constructed a high pressure engine, is said by Arago to quote one proposed by Papin, whence his idea was borrowed. Leupold's engine was double, being formed of two cy-

linders, into the lower part of one of which the high steam was introduced, while it was escaping from the other, and *vice versa*; and although it was applied by him to work two pumps, it is obvious that through the intervention of a crank it might have been applied to produce a continuous rotary motion. In the then state of the mechanic arts, however, its use was dangerous, and we are not aware that it was ever applied to any purpose of practical utility.

The next attempt at the structure of high pressure engines took place in this country. Oliver Evans, well known as an ingenious practical mill-wright, and to whom that once important branch of manufacture, flour, owed much of its value and success, asserts, that as early as 1772, when he was still an apprentice, the idea of propelling wagons by high steam occurred to him. The possibility of so doing, was ascertained by experiments on a small scale; and in 1786 he actually applied to the legislature of the state of Pennsylvania, which (under the old confederation) had not yet parted with this attribute of sovereignty. It was, however, the year 1801, before he was able to procure the means to build an engine of sufficient size to perform any important work. This was first applied to grinding gypsum, and afterwards to sawing marble; and was exhibited performing the latter operation in Market street, Philadelphia. In 1804, having constructed for the corporation of that city, a dredging machine to be worked by steam, it was mounted upon temporary wheels, at his works, a mile and a half from the water, and propelled upon them to the Schuylkill: on reaching this river, a paddle wheel was adapted to the stern, and it was thus propelled down that stream to the Delaware, and up the Delaware to Philadelphia. Evans is therefore the first person who constructed a high pressure engine of general powers, and the first who employed the friction of wheels upon their truck, when made to revolve by a steam-engine, to impel a carriage. That part of the experiment which consists in moving the apparatus when afloat, is of less moment, for as much had been previously done by other experimenters. His idea of obtaining a continuous rotary motion from the alternating motion of a steam-engine piston, is six years earlier than that of Watt, who did not commence his researches on this particular part of his subject until 1778.

Evans's original experiments were performed with a gun-barrel, and this appears to have influenced him in the choice of a form for his boilers. These were cylindric, and we thus owe to him, the figure which is unquestionably the best for containing large masses of water, whether the steam to be generated be high or low, in consequence of the uniform and powerful re-



sistance which a circular section opposes, both to internal and external pressure.

High pressure engines were not introduced (although Watt has, as early as 1769, spoken in his patent of the possible use of high steam,) in England, until 1803, when a patent was taken out for one by Trevithick and Vivian. This does not show the originality of views possessed by that of Evans, and it thus happens, that engines of this character, constructed in that country, which are modifications and improvements upon that of Trevithick, are inferior to those which the ingenuity of our own artists have engrafted upon the original plan of Evans. We have examined and compared perhaps the best engine of this sort ever constructed in Great Britain, one imported within a few months, for the Hudson and Delaware Canal Company, with those made in New-York, and the comparison is much to the advantage of the latter.

We have referred to one case in which high pressure engines are certainly unsafe. This is in their application to steam-boats. In these there is no limit to the velocity, growing out of the nature of the work to be performed. Cases will arise, in which the engineer and masters of the vessels, will urge the vessel to its utmost speed, and be induced, by a desire of rapid progress, to load the safety valve with more than it ought to bear. Explosions may, and must be the consequence. They may also occur in low pressure engines, but there will be a vast difference in their effects in the two instances. In a low pressure engine, the smallest rent in the boiler will reduce the steam to a pressure not greater than that of the atmosphere; while in one driven by high steam, the formation of any rent, however small, will be seen to cause an explosion.

In order to render high pressure engines safe, various precautions have been proposed. The safety valve, loaded with a weight considerably less than the boiler has been proved to bear, should be locked up; but there is another precaution which will be effectual, which is to form a second safety valve, soldered into its flue by a metallic alloy, so fusible as to melt at the temperature of the highest steam that the boiler ought to be permitted to bear.

Even in low pressure engines, dangerous explosions may occur when the flues return or pass in metallic tubes through the water. When these are so placed, that if the boiler be not properly supplied with water, they may be left dry, it is possible for them to be heated red hot. In this event, the vapour may be decomposed, and thus a violent explosion ensue, even when the safety valve is loaded with but very little weight. When an engine has boilers of this description, too much care cannot be taken to keep the water of the boiler always sufficiently high.

When steam-boats navigate salt water, another cause of danger may exist. The constant evaporation of the water will leave a continually increasing quantity of saline matter. This may at length, if the boiler be not emptied from time to time and cleansed, settle upon the sides and bottom of the boiler. Whenever such a deposit takes place, the boiler will become red-hot, and may oxidate and decompose the water in contact with it. In which case the boiler becomes too weak to bear the internal pressure, and an explosion must ensue. The metal of the boiler is also capable of decomposing the earthy muriates, which form a portion of the saline deposit; and the disintegration is thus accelerated. This danger can only be obviated, by frequently emptying the boilers, and scraping off the salt which adheres to them.

The cylindric boiler of Evans has been stated to be the best, where considerable masses of water are confined in it. It has however been attempted to make boilers where there can be hardly any risk of explosion, by reducing them to the size of mere tubes. A number of these connected together will expose as great a surface to the fire, and consequently generate as much steam as a large boiler containing many times the quantity of water. The earliest idea of this sort occurred to the elder Stevens, who sought to make a boiler to be heated by anthracite coal, of tubes forming the grate in which the coal was burnt. One upon the same principle has actually been brought into use by Babcock: his original project was, to flash a small quantity of water, by means of a forcing pump, into dry and red-hot tubes, at each stroke of the engine; but in the boilers he has made on a large scale, the tubes are kept partly filled with water. A practical difficulty manifestly exists in uniting the tubes in such a way as not to be liable to separation by the expansion of the metal they are composed of; but this it is said has been obviated by the skill of the artists recently employed in its construction.

We observe, by an account of Gurney's steam-carriage, which has just reached us, that the boiler used in it is of the same description; we must however record our claim to it as an American invention, not only projected, but used, upon a much greater scale, at least two years previously.

Another American has for some years been employed in planning a boiler or generator for high steam, with which he has produced the most prodigious effects. There are, however, so many practical difficulties in the case, that we are almost warranted in doubting whether he will ever be able to bring it into use in such a way as to be valuable. At any rate, the pledge of constructing an engine upon a large scale has not yet been redeemed. His difficulties however seem to lie in the very nature

of the materials; and it will be no disparagement to his ingenuity, if he cannot compel them to perform more than they were intended to do by nature.

To recapitulate: the energy of the vapour of water has been known from a remote era; it was actually made to act as a mechanical first mover by Hiero of Alexandria, 120 years before the Christian era; it however remained without any attempt to apply it to a practical purpose until the experiment of Garay in 1543; this experiment was forgotten, and produced no result, even in awakening attention to the subject. On the revival of the taste for the cultivation of physical science, the power of steam was examined, and the possibility of making it move machinery or elevate water ascertained; but no good consequence or useful application ensued until the time of Savary, and even he would have been unworthy of notice, if we confined ourselves to those who had actually accomplished some purpose of real utility, were it not that a part of his plan was absolutely essential to the success of Newcomen, who has the merit of first introducing such an engine as was fitted to insure confidence, and is therefore the leader of all those who have since derived useful effects from the agency of steam. Watt discovered the defects of Newcomen's engine, and remedied them; applied steam as the moving power, instead of simply using it to form a vacuum, and finally extended its applicability to every possible description of mechanical industry; while Evans and Trevithick, each pursuing a separate course, succeeded in constructing high pressure engines.

Such is the small number of names to which the world is under any real obligation, in the introduction of this most important instrument, which has more than doubled the power of civilized man over time, space, and the elements. Hiero and Garay produced no sensation in their own times, and held out no example to posterity; a long list of others, among whom are Papin and the Marquis of Worcester, have only been raised from oblivion because others have since been successful; Savary can hardly be said to have done more than awaken the attention of the world to the power of steam; while the action of the engines of Evans and Trevithick, would have been incompetent, had not they adopted the parts by which the alternating motion of the piston is converted into one continuous and circular, and which we owe to Watt. Two names then alone remain to be quoted with full honours, and these are Newcomen and Watt. Had not, however, the apathy of his cotemporaries, and the scantiness of his means, prevented Evans from pursuing his early intentions, he might, probably, have made a third, to be enumerated with Watt and Newcomen, among those who have made important steps and real improvements on the steam-en-

gine. As it is, he stands on a far higher level than Trevithick; for the latter had the aid of all the knowledge obtained by Watt, and of the mechanical perfection introduced into England, while Evans was left, unassisted, to his own resources.

In the case of the Steam-Engine, as in all other valuable discoveries, no other persons are worthy of being named, than those who have had a direct agency in bringing it into practical use, by either exciting public attention, or adding valuable practical improvements. A historian of the art of engraving would travel out of the direct path, were he to endeavour to draw from oblivion the artists, however distinguished, who laboured upon silver plate, or monumental brasses; the era of the invention is, when it was discovered that such sculptures were capable of being transferred to paper, and the impressions of being multiplied to a vast extent.

The historians of the steam-engine have sinned against this obvious rule, and if we have mentioned any of the names on which they seem to delight to dwell, to the prejudice of the real inventors and improvers, it is with a view of showing how little they really effected, and how unworthy they are of the space they occupy in the annals of practical mechanism. Some of the histories, too, are loaded with accounts of abortive attempts, and among these the rotary engines, so often attempted, and so often found unfit for service, are by far the most numerous. To us the search for a rotary engine appears to be a sheer waste of ingenuity. Its structure must be difficult, and liable to immense resistance from friction; while even one of easy construction, and subject to but little resistance, would add but very little to the power of a given quantity of steam. Those who have devoted themselves to such researches, appear to have commenced under erroneous and exaggerated notions of the disadvantages of a crank. They seem to have considered it as equally defective, when moved by the piston of a steam-engine, and by human force. It is no doubt true, that a man who is capable of exercising a constant force equivalent to seventy pounds, can act upon a crank with a power of little more than a third of this quantity. But this grows out of a disadvantageous exercise of his strength on particular parts of the crank's revolution, and his not being able to turn it entirely round, when loaded with a resistance greater than that he can overcome in this most disadvantageous position. But no such difference occurs, when it is turned by a steam-engine. We have stated, that at the dead points of the motion, or in passing the centre, as it is called, a crank, furnished with a fly-wheel, is possessed of great advantages; and when by the use of an expansion valve, the inertia of the machine no longer raises nor depresses the cylinder, no other force is wasted than a small fraction, which tends to drag the axis of the



crank sideways, and this is so small as hardly to render the wear of the gudgeons upon their socket unequal.

The same principle we have stated in respect to the invention of the steam-engine itself, applies with even greater force to the adaptation of it to boats, and would compel us, in writing the history of this most important use of the power of aqueous vapour, to begin with the name of Fulton. He unquestionably holds, in this application, the rank which Newcomen and Watt hold jointly, in the general history of the steam-engine; for he not only was the first to satisfy the world, that a steam-boat was not the mere vision of vain projectors—but he gave it a form which has hardly been varied, and but little improved, since his death. Yet, in acquiring this high rank, Fulton was as much indebted to accident as to merit; for a powerful competitor was but a fortnight behind him in navigating the Hudson with a steam-boat; and he had, too, strong support and pecuniary aid, from one whose repeated experiments, all ending in failure, had, instead of discouraging, only served to confirm him in the belief, that a vessel might be advantageously propelled by a steam-engine.

That we may show the reasons of our claiming this pre-eminence for Fulton, and exhibit in a clear light the respective merits of his partner and his competitor, we must enter into the history of the attempts which preceded his triumph. That of Garay, may be here, as in the other case, left out of view, for it is an experiment, which, however honourable to him that performed it, was attended with no beneficial consequences, and did not even remain as a matter of history to stimulate others to the attempt.

Savary and Papin have both stated their idea, that it would be possible to propel boats by their engines; but the former seems to have had in view the working of a common water wheel within the boat, by the stream raised by his apparatus, and which might thus be applied to work the propelling apparatus. We think it requires no argument to show, that even if a boat could have been thus propelled, it never could have been usefully employed. His views were extremely vague, and reduced at no time to the test of experiment; aware, indeed, of the power of steam, he was safe in predicting, that it might be applied to all purposes to which any other natural agent could be directed; but in this case, the whole difficulty consists in the manner, and not in the principle. We know that a stream of water exerts a force sufficient to tear away and roll into pebbles the hardest rocks, but this knowledge of its power is hardly a step to the discovery of a mill-wheel. Papin's plan was to apply his steam cylinder to produce a rotary motion by the intervention of a rack and pinion. Now, in the first place, we have seen how very inadequate

his apparatus was to any rapid and powerful effort ; and, in the second, a rack and pinion would never have given a continuous motion, but would have conveyed only the irregular action of the piston, uncorrected, to the propelling apparatus. Here, too, the argument of the invention having never been subjected to the test of a fair experiment, is, in our minds, conclusive against any claim on behalf of Papin.

In 1737, an Englishman, of the name of Jonathan Hulls; took out a patent for a vessel to be propelled by steam, and to be used in towing ships. He proposed to propel the steam-boat by paddle wheels, while an engine of Newcomen's was employed to turn them. This invention, which might at a later day have been successful, was obviously impracticable with Newcomen's engine ; it fell at once into oblivion, from which it has only been raked, in order to lessen the merit of Fulton ; nor does it appear that any vessel was ever propelled by it. So completely, in truth, was Hulls' patent forgotten, that the application of the crank to produce circular motion, as proposed by him, was afterwards made the subject of a new patent by another person, and maintained by him on the ground of originality ; and even Watt, as we have stated, thought it most prudent to acquiesce in the claim.

Arago states, that Perier constructed a steam-boat in France, in 1775 ; that the Marquis de Jouffroy made an experiment on a larger scale in 1778, at Baume les Dames ; and finally, in 1781, built a vessel 46 metres in length, and 4½ in width. This vessel contained two engines, and was therefore similar to Hulls' ; it was tried at Lyons, and in full confidence of its success, Jouffroy applied for an exclusive privilege, which application was referred by the ministry of the day to the Academy of Sciences, in 1783. Arago ascribes the neglect of this experiment to the emigration of Jouffroy ; but as eight years, at least, elapsed, between even the latter date and the first emigration, we think we are warranted in the belief that the machinery had not accomplished its object.

In 1786, Fitch made, upon the Delaware river, an experiment upon the steam-boat ; the vessel passed with great facility from Philadelphia to Bordentown and back again ; but however successful it may have been in appearance, it did not acquire such a character as to enable him to raise the funds for carrying it into operation. We are, in truth, compelled to believe, that this, like all preceding attempts, was a failure, not from any fault in the parts intended to move the boat, but because the steam-engine was yet too imperfect to work them to advantage. Fitch's experiment, however, is the first that can be referred to as having had any influence upon the exertions of his predecessors, and did no doubt stimulate Livingston and Stevens in their exertions.

The experiments of Miller, in Scotland, are next in date. In a work published in 1787, he states that he has reason to believe that the steam-engine may be employed to turn wheels, such as he was proposing to use instead of oars, in such a manner as to make them move more quickly. It was not, however, until 1791, that he brought this opinion to the test of experiment among the improvements in Great Britain. Lord Stanhope is next to be named, who attempted to construct a steam-boat in 1795; and last, Symington, who had been employed by Miller, and who, in 1801, had a steam-boat in motion upon the Forth o' Clyde canal. All of these were considered, at the time, failures, both by the public and the projectors, and would have fallen into oblivion had it not been for the success of Fulton. This must be obvious, when we consider, that at least in the cases of Miller and Lord Stanhope, there was neither wanting fortune, nor the influence of high character, to induce others to adventure with them; while the state of the country, and the demands of commerce, would have called into active employment any plan that promised to be sufficient. To prove that the last is no unfounded opinion, we may cite the immense development which steam navigation assumed almost instantly in Great Britain, so soon as the success of the American boats was fully known, and their structure imitated.

John Stevens, of Hoboken, commenced his researches in steam navigation in 1791. Possessed both of fortune and science, he was yet wanting in the intimate acquaintance with practical mechanics necessary to success; he was hence, at first, compelled to employ men of far less talent and genius than himself, but who had the advantage of being operative machinists. His first engineer turned out an incorrigible sot; his second became consumptive, and died before the experiment was completed. Mr. Stevens then determined to depend upon his own resources, and the practical skill he had acquired, and built a workshop upon his own estate, where he employed workmen, first under his own immediate superintendence, and afterwards under that of his son, Robert L. Stevens.

In this workshop, several engines of various sorts were constructed, and placed in boats, some of which passed through the water at the rate of five or six miles per hour, and one actually crossed the Hudson. This was furnished with the tubular boiler, of which we have already spoken, but which, from the difficulties attending its structure, failed just as it touched the New-York shore. About the year 1800, Mr. Stevens associated with himself Chancellor Livingston and Mr. Nicholas Roosevelt, in order to make an experiment upon a larger scale. This also failed; but from no defect of principle or plan, but because the boat was too weak for the engine, whose parts were dislocated by the

change of the vessel's figure. The propelling apparatus was composed of a system of paddles placed on each side of the boat, and set in motion by a condensing engine of the construction of Watt. We now know that such a plan would answer the purposes in view; and it so far encouraged the parties interested, as to induce them to pursue the object with greater perseverance. Chancellor Livingston, soon after, departed as ambassador to France, where he interested Fulton in his inquiries; while Stevens, with his son, continued their researches at Hoboken.

The preliminary experiment of Livingston and Fulton, was made upon the Seine in 1803; and gave them such encouragement, that the latter proceeded to Birmingham, to obtain from Watt one of his best engines, and of large size. This reached New-York in 1806, accompanied by an artist to put it up, and thus was brought all the practical skill of Watt's best workman in aid of the ingenuity of Fulton.

Upon his return, Livingston offered to Stevens to renew the partnership; but the latter, having already made, in his own opinion, great steps towards success, declined. Their experiments were therefore conducted separately, and were both successful. Fulton's boat was, however, first ready, and thus became entitled to the monopoly held out as a reward by the state of New-York.

Stevens's boat, which was in motion but a few weeks later than Fulton's, plied for a while as a ferry-boat; but was finally prevented from navigating the Hudson, by the action of the exclusive grant to Livingston and Fulton. Unwilling to abandon the fruit of his long labours, he formed the bold plan of navigating the ocean; and passing out of the harbour of New-York, entered the Capes of the Delaware, and established his vessel upon that river as a passage boat between Philadelphia and Trenton.

We cannot but think that there can be no doubt that it is to Livingston and Stevens, and particularly to the latter, that the world is indebted for the steam-boat. Had they not possessed sufficient intelligence to see, in their original, abortive, and most expensive experiments, the evidence of future success, they might have, like Papin, De Caus, and Worcester, like Jouffroy Miller, and Symington, have been named by those who wish to diminish the honours of actual success; but we have reason to believe that the steam-boat might still have been, like the guidance of the air-balloon, a matter of theoretic speculation; to be sneered at by *practical* men. But high as we may rank their services, it is one of those inventions, so obvious in theory, but so beset by practical difficulties, as to confer more honour, in the eye of the world, upon the engineers, than upon the projectors. Hence the reputation of Livingston will be more than shared by Fulton; and that of the elder Stevens by his son.



Among the workmen brought by Fulton, from the shops of Soho, was one of the name of Bell; who, after assisting in the construction of more than one boat, returned to Europe, with all the experience acquired in Fulton's service, and incontestable evidence of his success. He was the first to construct a successful steam-boat in Great Britain, the *Comet*; which, after running for a time from Greenock to Glasgow, was carried to Liverpool in 1815, and served as the model for all the steam-boats of Europe. This boat was not however built until 1812, or five years later than Fulton and Stevens had each placed boats in successful action upon the Hudson.

We had an opportunity of seeing the *Comet*, and observing how exactly all the parts necessary to success, and which in the case of Fulton had been the fruit of successive accidents, and improvements called for by them, were adopted. Thus the wheel-guards, the form of the rudder, the manner of steering, all were found in it; although in the river Clyde, the necessity for them could hardly have been ascertained by experience. Even in the English boats that navigate the ocean, the wheel-guards, which are in stormy waters rather a defect than an advantage, are retained, as if to serve as a perpetual remembrance of the American origin of the steam-boat.

From that time until the present, although the perfection of English workmanship has given their engineers most important advantages, the steam-boats of our country have been in constant advance of those of Great Britain; this has been most marked in those constructed under the direction of the younger Stevens, whose last boat, the *North America*, is possessed of speed, and other valuable properties, not only far beyond any yet built in Europe, but exceeding those, which a most powerful competition in our own, has caused to be brought forward, with the avowed intention of rivalry, and with strong hopes of being able to excel that magnificent vessel.

The history of steam navigation is in many respects most gratifying to our national spirit, and it is not less a subject of gratulation, to see that the venerable Stevens, to whom we and the world are so much indebted, should be rewarded, if not in pecuniary emolument, at least in the pleasing feelings of gratified paternal pride, for the labours of a life, and the expenditure of a fortune, in bringing this most important branch of the useful arts into successful operation.

We also look with pleasure to the success of the Stevens' in another point of view, as establishing the superiority of education and intelligence, in difficult and novel cases of civil engineering, over mere mechanical acquirements. It has been believed, that because every country surveyor might be converted into a levelling machine, and any respectable mason

intrusted with the erection of a canal lock, such men were engineers, and might be charged with the direction of any enterprise, however new in principle, or difficult in execution. We hope that the superiority of education in the case of steam-boats, even if no other instance could be cited, will establish how very far science, assisted by proper opportunities for practice, must excel that knowledge, which has its source no deeper than the workshop, or consists wholly in manual dexterity.

When we reflect on the other parts of the history of steam-boats among us, we cannot but be sensible, that the stigma of ingratitude lies against us as a nation. It is a point of sound policy, that the person who brings any important invention to maturity, shall receive a national reward, in the form either of a monopoly, or an equivalent for the use of the invention by the public. The state of New-York, deeply sensible of the vast importance of steam navigation to her prosperity, proposed to the first who should place in her waters a successful steam-boat, a monopoly for a limited time. This offer was dictated by justice as well as policy. It was obvious, that the powers of the steam-engine were sufficient to produce the desired effect; all that remained in doubt, was the exact manner. To test the practicability of the various plans which had been partially tried, or to discover and experiment upon new ones, required both capital and ingenuity, and it could not be hoped that either would be brought into action, without the prospect of an adequate reward. It might also have been anticipated, that any plan, to be successful, must be of extreme simplicity, and that its very simplicity would prevent its protection by ordinary patent laws. Such was, undeniably, the fact. Place a pair of paddle wheels on the axis of the crank of Watt's engine, and we have Fulton's method, which is equally effective and simple. A workman in the employ of Messrs. Livingston, Stevens & Roosevelt, suggested this method to them; but while they clearly saw the objections which are still urged against it, they were not prepared to appreciate its advantages. It was, indeed, as one of the parties frankly states, too simple to suit their views at the time it was proposed; so easy, that they did not believe it could succeed. Yet this very simplicity and ease of application constitutes its most valuable quality. Of all the plans which have ever been proposed, it is the least complex, and yet it is the only one that has been successful.

The truth is, that the construction of a successful steam-boat was attended with innumerable petty practical difficulties. It was several weeks after the first trial of Fulton's boat, before he ventured to make a passage up the river; and it was more than a year of constant alterations, additions and corrections, in which the most consummate ingenuity was brought into action, before

any but the most sanguine believed that he had effected more than his predecessors. Now, however, it appeared before the public in a finished form, and so simple and obvious in all its parts, that the least intelligent might have fancied that they also could have effected as much as Fulton. He shared the same fate with many other benefactors of the human race, to be ridiculed as an unsound projector, until his success was beyond all question, and to be denied the honours of a discoverer, from the simple character of his apparatus.

Innumerable competitors at once appeared to claim equal honours, and to contest with him the sole reward that remained within his reach. Hence, his grant from the state of New-York, was to him a source not of wealth but of constant litigation, in the fatigues incident to which his life fell a sacrifice; while the final solemn decision, that this grant was untenable, entailed poverty upon his family.

Such has frequently been the history of those, who, by genius or industry, have made the more important improvements in the arts. Jealousy and envy detract from their merits; the public grudge or deprive them of a due reward; and their useful labours procure for them only vexation, poverty and distress.

We are far from questioning the correctness of that decision which made the grant to Fulton void, but we may lament that the stern impartiality of the law should have compelled the court to pronounce such a decision. At any rate, we are satisfied, that upon every principle of policy and justice, a national reward is due to the heirs of Fulton, in return for the useful and unrequited services of their father.

That the same end would shortly have been attained by the efforts of another, is no bar to such a claim. Each fairly adventured for a prize that could be adjudged to but one, and his competitor at once acquiesced in the justice of the grant to Fulton, and was content to seek the reward of his ingenuity in another direction. The opposition to Fulton's privileges, and the contest by which they were annulled, were excited by persons who had no merit whatever, and had added nothing to the stock of experimental knowledge, of which the steam-boat was the fruit. Yet before such pretenders the claims of Livingston and Fulton were forced to succumb. We still hope, however, that our national representatives may be awakened to a sufficient sense of public honour and decent gratitude, to make some, however inadequate, remuneration to the descendants of Fulton, for that grant, which the cession of its sovereignty to the general government prevented the state of New-York from making good.

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ART. VIII.—*Life of Arthur Lee, LL. D. Joint Commissioner of the United States to the Court of France, and Sole Commissioner to the Courts of Spain and Prussia, during the Revolutionary War. With his Political and Literary Correspondence, and his Papers on Diplomatic and Political Subjects, and the Affairs of the United States during the same Period.* By RICHARD HENRY LEE: Boston: 1829. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 431 & 399.

WE welcome every contribution to the history of our Revolutionary Diplomacy, the most important portion, at last, of the annals of that era. The success which attended the resistance of the colonists, is apt to leave unquestioned the justice of resorting to such an extremity; but it is only in the diplomacy of the times, that we can find the real sources of dissatisfaction; and, more especially, in what manner redress was previously sought;—in fine, from which alone we can collect the spirit of the Revolution. This is the plainest of political axioms; yet that it has been too little inculcated or remembered, appears manifest to us from the infrequency with which the subject has been entertained as a theme of national gratulation. Our orators and writers have been, in general, negatively unjust to the silent services of the cabinet, and to the peculiar merit of those statesmen who encountered the lion in his very den, throwing the rebukes of their injuries and insults into the houses of Parliament, and who in *London* personally appealed to the sympathy of the English people. Embassies were, in those days, no sinecures, no insignificant appendages of state; they were the hope of this nation, and they proved its efficient helpers.

The means of attaining a knowledge of these services, have not, indeed, until within a few years, been generally accessible. The mass of the people are satisfied with the manifesto of the Declaration of Independence, which is an admirable epitome of the wrongs endured under the British sceptre, but which furnishes a single sentence only in justification of the decisive measure it promulges.—“In every stage of these oppressions, we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms; our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury.” Yet it was, doubtless, the pertinacious tyranny which redoubled the oppressions of the colonies, in proportion as they made the most loyal and affectionate representations of their distress, that exasperated them to renounce their allegiance. Several late publications, however, indicate that public curiosity has awakened to a sense of the deficiency of which we have spoken. The Secret Journals of the Old Congress, Mr. Pitkin’s Political and Civil History of the United States, Mr. Lyman’s History of Ame-



rican Diplomacy, and various particular biographies, are diffusing a correct appreciation of the national councils and agents. The life of Arthur Lee is an essential part of the series; his posts as a diplomatist, were the most conspicuous and perilous. One of the American deputies to England itself, and at a critical period their only representative with the most powerful crowns of the continent, upon him mainly depended the success of our infant country in procuring the indispensable alliance and countenance of those powers. To his exertions, open and secret, private and official, may be attributed the excitation of popular feeling, which must have had its effect in postponing some of the devices of British despotism, until its intended victim had better prepared for resistance.

The sketch of the life of Mr. Lee does not occupy one half of the first volume; the remainder of the work is filled with his political and literary correspondence, documents, a short memoir of the Revolution which he left unfinished, and private journals. The biography itself is principally defective in clearness of arrangement; the chronology of the events is sometimes confused, and several dates appear to be wrongly expressed. A strain of panegyric, throughout a professed biography, is always in bad taste, and the Revolution and its men are already embalmed beyond all new arts of eulogy; we should, therefore, have been pleased to find that the present author had allowed the characters he introduces into his narrative, to speak for themselves, in the simple record of their deeds. These blemishes, however, subtract nothing from the main merit of the work, which is full of interesting matter, in the perusal of which, the reader will soon forget all objections. In endeavouring to frame from the whole mass, an outline of the life and services of Mr. Lee, we must presume upon the acquaintance of our readers with the general history of the period, the detail of which would entrench too much upon our proposed gleanings of the less known particulars of these volumes.

The family of our author belongs to the only circle of *primores* acknowledged by our institutions—they were distinguished amongst the founders of the republic. The services of Richard Henry Lee have been detailed in a separate biography,\* by his very respectable grandson, the author of the work now before us; and his name, with that of his brother, Francis L. Lee, is ennobled by its place among the signatures of the Declaration of 1776. Two other brothers, Thomas L., and William, were in public life, and the latter held several important public posts abroad with credit. The father of this patriotic brotherhood was not permitted to enjoy the extraordinary happiness of seeing

\* Memoir of the Life of Richard Henry Lee, and his Correspondence, &c. By Richard H. Lee. 2 vols. Philadelphia, 1825.

five sons thus pre-eminently distinguished. He died when Arthur, the youngest, was but ten years old. Arthur was born in Westmoreland county, Virginia, on the 20th of December, 1740. After receiving the rudiments of learning from private instruction, he was sent to the school at Eton, in England; and upon the completion of his course there, entered the University of Edinburgh, and, after his graduation, commenced the study of medicine in the same celebrated, and at that time unrivalled institution. He took his degree of M. D. with great distinction, winning a medal for the best botanical Latin treatise, which was published by order of the University. Having made a tour of Holland and Germany, Dr. Lee returned to Virginia, and commenced the practice of his profession at Williamsburg, then the metropolis. The bent of his mind, however, was decidedly to politics: he was present at the parliamentary debate on the Stamp Act, and when the duty bill was passed, he seconded the arguments of the "Farmer's Letters," by a series of anonymous publications in England. Before his return, he established a plan of correspondence amongst the leading patriots of the Colonies, and secured, from his friends in London, the means of obtaining the earliest intelligence of the movements of the mother court.

Mr. Lee, having engaged thus earnestly in the question, it was not to be expected that he would remain content with the limited exertions which his profession would allow: he accordingly adopted the resolution of abandoning his lucrative business, and devoting himself wholly to the cause of his country. To effect this, he determined to return to England, and apply himself to the study of the law, that he might acquire familiarity with the science of politics and government, and furnish such information as concerned the colonies, and could only be gathered by personal observation. In 1766, he went to London, which city he found "the strong-hold of popular opposition, and the society of the Supporters of the Bill of Rights, the most active in conducting it:" with the design of connecting the grievances of the two nations, he became a member of the society, and purchased the freedom of the city, which qualified him as a voter in municipal affairs. His brother William was, at this time, an alderman and sheriff of London; but, upon the rupture, he took the side of his native country. Mr. Lee associated with Wilkes, introduced the complaints of America into the Middlesex petition, and successfully proposed a resolution, that the members of the club would support no candidate for parliament, who would not pledge himself to promote the granting of the power of self-taxation to America. The mysterious Junius was an adviser of this body, and had an amicable discussion with Mr. Lee on some points of American policy, on which they hap-

pened to differ. Mr. Lee adopted the signature of Junius Americanus, in his political publications; and these writings gained him the acquaintance of Mr. Burke, Dr. Price, and others, the most noted of the popular leaders. When the propositions of Lord North to extend the royal authority, in the control of the East India Company, furnished a new topic of discontent, Mr. Lee became a proprietor in the Company, hoping not merely to subserve the direct interests of the English people, but to divert the attention of government from the colonies. He was delegated on a special committee of observation and advice, and was deputed by that committee, with another member, to represent the discontented party at the bar of the Commons, but through diffidence declined the appointment. The attempts of the opposition failed, and Mr. Lee anticipated that the consequence would be fatal to British freedom:—

“In this prospect there is but one consolation. That liberty, when she abandons this country, will not, like Astræa, relinquish us for ever; but will fix her favourite seat in the rising regions of America. There may she rest, and spread her happy influence, till time shall be no more. But if we too must lose her, when she ascends the skies, we shall at least have the prerogative of showing her last, her parting steps.”

Mr. Lee extended his acquaintance wherever there was a prospect of exerting his influence to advantage; with this supreme object, he entered the literary circles of London, became a fellow of the Royal Society, and cherished an intimacy with its conspicuous members. In one of his journals, he makes a retrospect of this part of his life:—

“I was placed in chambers in the temple, which looked into a delightful little garden on the Thames, of which I had the key; I could go in and out at all hours, and have what company I pleased, without being questioned or over-looked.

“I was near the Royal Society, of which I was a fellow, where, every week, whatever was new and ingenious in literature, was communicated. Not far from me was the hall of the Society of Arts and Agriculture, of which I was an honorary member; and where I had access to all the new discoveries in arts, agriculture, and mechanics.

“The play houses and the opera were equally convenient, where I could select the opportunity of seeing the best tragedies and comedies represented, and of hearing the most exquisite Italian music. I was a subscriber to Bach and Abel’s concerts, where the most masterly performers in the world, (Bach, Abel, Fisher, Tassot, Ponto, and Crosdal,) played to a most polite and fashionable audience, in one of the most elegant concert rooms in the world. In the field of politics, from the politician in the cider-cellar, to the peer in his palace, I had access and influence. At the Bill of Rights, the city of London, the East India house, and with the opposition in both houses, I was of some consideration. Among my particular friends, to whom I always had access, were Lord Shelburne, Mr. Downing, Col. Barré, Mr. Wilkes, Serjeant Glynn, and several others. I was so well with several of the nobility and gentry, that I could spend all my leisure time at their country seats. At Bath I had a very extensive acquaintance; and there is not in the world a more agreeable place to one so circumstanced. As one of the law, I enjoyed the protection and distinction of that body, with the prospect of rising to place and profit, which all of that body,

who have even moderate abilities, enjoy. So circumstanced, nothing but the peculiar and extraordinary crisis of the times, prevented me from being entirely happy, and pursuing the fortune which sat with golden plumes within my reach. But every thing was absorbed in the great contest which I saw fast approaching; and which soon called upon me to quit London, and take an open part in the revolution, as a representative of the United States at the court of France."

In 1770, he commenced the practice of the law under the most promising auspices. In that year, the Assembly of Massachusetts appointed him their agent in case of the absence or death of Dr. Franklin, who then held the office; and before either of the contingencies occurred, he assisted the venerable sage with his hearty co-operation. It is said that he was recommended to the Assembly for this office, by Samuel Adams—in itself an honour—who, although personally unacquainted, requested his correspondence. Mr. Lee cordially met this advance, and addressed to him one of the most interesting letters in these volumes. In acknowledging the honour conferred on him by the colony, Mr. Lee expressed the impressions on his mind, which are reiterated throughout his correspondence, of the utter hopelessness of any mitigation of the severity of Great Britain; and urged the opinion, that the colonies should rely with unyielding confidence upon their own strength:

"America must depend on herself for obtaining the security and redress she wishes. From this country, a *secondary* support only is to be expected. It appears to me, that nothing can be more necessary, than that this truth should be well understood, lest too much confidence in others should lull us into a fatal security, or slacken those patriotic exertions, which, to be effectual, should be ardent and unremitting. America must work her own salvation. His majesty's present ministers have brought the trial so fully forward, as to render unremonstrating submission, perfect slavery. They have substituted discretion for law, and set the principles of the constitution, which should be fixed and free, afloat upon the merciless and fluctuating sea of arbitrary will. Not to oppose this most pernicious system would be a crime; to oppose it unsuccessfully will be only our misfortune. After juries have been abolished by the present establishment of admiralty courts, or rendered nugatory by the partial conduct of prerogative judges, our assemblies, to every great purpose of the constitution, almost annihilated, property disposed of without the consent of the people, in short, when the representative part of the constitution, the legislative, executive, and judicial powers, are completely torn from us, and vested in our arbitrary rulers, what farther badge of slavery have ministers to impose, or we to wear? Yet if force and lawless power must at present prevail, still it behooves us to protest against that which we cannot prevent, and bear our testimony before God and man, that we did not submit without a struggle to this humiliating state of absolute bondage; that our posterity, when they have power, and power they will have, may not want spirit and example, to reclaim those liberties which their forefathers reluctantly resigned. You will pardon me, sir, if I have trespassed upon your patience. 'Out of the fulness of the heart, the mouth speaketh.' My heart is filled with grief and indignation for the oppressions of my country; and my tongue shall sooner cease to move, than to remonstrate against them. Convinced of the righteousness of the cause in which we are engaged, since nothing tends more to debase, vitiate, and abuse mankind, than the tyrannic system we are opposing, we may well trust that heaven will assist our earnest endeavours, and direct them to a happy issue out of all our difficulties."



As early as 1767, he wrote to his brother:—"Let me remind you that no confidence is to be reposed in the justice or mercy of Great Britain, and that American liberty must be entirely of American fabric." And in 1769—"Persevere in the plan of frugality and industry; encourage and confirm a spirit never to submit or yield, and you will compel them to be just—*hæ tibi artes, hæc arma.*" And still more earnestly in 1772, addressing Samuel Adams:—

"Nothing can, in my opinion, do more injury to our cause, than withdrawing the attention and confidence of our countrymen from themselves, to a reliance on the promises of this country. To be redressed, they must be respected, to be respected they must be formidable, to be formidable they must be united. You are now in a fair way of establishing that union; for God's sake let no delusive expectations divert you from it. Were this country to grant you every thing they who call themselves our friends think we deserve, it would not be half so much as we ought to demand. Their utmost concessions flow from policy, not from principle. It is our business, when we do demand a bill of rights, so to frame it, that no question hereafter may arise, touching the liberties we ought to enjoy. The indignity of having endured so many flagrant violations of our rights is now over, and we may coolly and circumspectly form our plan, and prepare for its effectual execution."

He inveighed strongly against the obstinacy and prejudices of the government, which forbade a hope that it could be brought to reason by any other means than compulsion; and yet he does not once insinuate the policy of separation. Four years previous to that consummation, he wrote from England:—"The first wish of my heart is that America may be free—the second is that we may ever be united with this country."

"I must confess to you, that I wished the dispute might be accommodated, without urging it to its utmost. I foresaw great present misery to America, in bringing it to such a decision at this time; and ruin to this country, which I cannot help revering as the noble nurse of generous freedom. It seemed to me, that drawing a line between internal and external legislation, would leave us room enough to thrive and prosper in, and this country sufficient power to maintain her ground against her European enemies. Something, I thought, was to be yielded to the parent state; and as we were rising and she sinking, I felt it more desirable that we should gradually arrive at the full enjoyment of liberty by inheritance, than, by violently grasping at it, precipitate her fall."

That a disjunction, however, might be the ultimate effect of the refusal of the claims of the Americans, is more than once hinted. In the very letter we have last quoted, he says, that the parent government, "from charging us with aiming at independency, have brought us to consider, then to claim, and I think will bring us to confirm it." And the expressions of indignation and contempt, in which he speaks of the king and his ministry, indicate the wide alienation of his affections from that personal loyalty, which we are told is the essence of British patriotism. In the spring of 1774, Mr. Lee set out on a tour to France and Italy; published at Paris an "Appeal to the people of Great Britain;" and attempted to convert Lord Rawdon, whom he met in Rome. Hearing of the dissolution of parliament, be-

fore he had completed his journey, he hastily returned from Turin to London. He looked upon the king's opening speech to the new parliament as a declaration of war; and his apprehensions were more confirmed, when Lord Dartmouth refused to receive at his hands a petition from the Assembly of Delaware, on the pretence that Mr. Lee was not known as the authorized representative of that colony. On the return of Dr. Franklin to America, in the same year, Mr. Lee became the sole agent of Massachusetts; and thus commenced his active career as an American deputy. He recommended a general Congress, and pressed the essential importance of putting a total stop to importations from England, as "the only advisable and sure means of defence:" this measure was adopted by Congress in the autumn of the same year. His interest in the strict maintenance of this resolution, may be judged of by his language in 1771, when private conventional agreements of non-importation had been subscribed, but not faithfully regarded.

"When I speak of my country, it is in the despair and grief of my heart. She is undone. That virtue which alone could have saved her, does not exist. There is, in my apprehension, a fatal sympathy between the merchants and the people. The former would never have hazarded such copious importations, had they not been assured that the latter would purchase them. And if our liberties are not worth the difference between a homespun and a broadcloth coat, between a worsted and a silk stocking, in the estimation of the people, on what are we to found our hopes of retrieving our rights? We have demonstrated our slavery, and submit to be enslaved for the most contemptible of all human gratifications, that of vanity. We have rattled our chains through all Europe, that all Europe might see we have not spirit to shake them off. It is not a doubtful business, a plausible usurpation, but an avowed, demonstrated, and acknowledged tyranny. We are not deluded, but driven into slavery. And this, not by the valour, the wiles, or the wisdom of the tyrant; but by our own intolerance of every honourable and virtuous effort to redeem us from bondage," &c.

In this state of despondency, he went so far as to say,

"There is, however, one event to which I yet look forward with some confidence; an event which cannot be at any great distance; that of a war. One noble and united struggle *then*, would yet redeem us. I therefore took the liberty of proposing to your consideration, whether it would not be proper to prepare for that opportunity, especially in point of union; for unanimity among the colonies is absolutely necessary to success, whatever may be the measure pursued."

In October 1774, Congress adopted a petition to the king, which was transmitted to their agents for presentation; this was effected in due form, and the only notice taken of the paper, was the impertinent declaration of Lord Dartmouth, that "no answer would be given." The same fate attended a similar appeal in the next year. When the Hutchinson and Oliver correspondence was detected, the Massachusetts Assembly instructed Dr. Franklin to pray the King for their deposition from office, and to employ Mr. Lee as counsel, who then being in his novitiate, was not competent to act in that capacity, but addressed an anonymous remonstrance to Dartmouth, on the claims of the

petitioners—the petition was dismissed as “groundless, vexatious, and scandalous.” In the same year, Lee wrote a spirited protest to Parliament, in the name of the mayor and livery of London, against the ministerial course; for this exhibition of good-will, Congress directed a formal acknowledgment; and it is somewhat curious, that Richard H. Lee drafted the letter of thanks, and neither of the brothers knew of the other’s authorship until after the war.

The Secret Committee of Congress appointed Lee their London correspondent. The principal object of this regulation, was to learn what was to be hoped from the several European powers. In furtherance of this design, Lee directed his inquiries particularly to the French ambassador at the British Court; through whom he succeeded in obtaining assurances from the Count de Vergennes, that his government would secretly furnish to the Colonies two hundred thousand pounds worth of arms and ammunition; to be transported from Holland to the West Indies. Mr. Lee visited Paris, where he diligently laboured, by personal intercourse, and by his writings, to warm the sympathy of the government and people. Soon after his return to England, he received the notification of his appointment, by the now independent United States, as one of the commission to the court of France, in conjunction with Silas Deane; to whom Dr. Franklin was soon afterwards added. With what devotedness the commissioners entered upon their duties, may be judged from the following obligation into which they entered.

“It is further considered, that in the present perils of the liberties of our country, it is our duty to hazard every thing in their support and defence; therefore, resolved unanimously, that if it should be necessary to the attainment of any thing in our best judgment essential to the defence and support of the public cause, *that we should pledge* our persons, or hazard the censure of the congress, by exceeding our instructions, we will, for such purpose, most cheerfully resign our personal liberty or life.”

The general history of the proceedings of this commission, is too familiar to our readers to allow a repetition of their detail. Besides the correspondence of Mr. Lee during this period, the present volumes contain copious extracts from his private journal, which, with the letters of instruction and information, from and to the congressional committee of foreign affairs, and secret committees, afford interesting particulars of the manner in which the trust was executed. The tenor of the communication on both sides is of the most dauntless and determined spirit. Under all circumstances, they speak with unwavering confidence and decision. Unwilling as they were to embrace the only alternative, yet the deed of the 4th of July being accomplished, they repudiated the idea of a reconciliation with Great Britain, on any other footing than that of independence, as unworthy of

themselves, and inconsistent with their professions to the European powers, whose alliance they sought, and from some of whom they had already received secret assistance.

The Court of Versailles lingered in doubt and fear, as to the avowed course it should pursue, until the defeat of Burgoyne; when it acceded with great alacrity to the propositions of the commissioners; and to compensate for the delay, expressed its intention to make the terms of the treaty such "as they might be willing to agree to, if their state had been long since established, and in the fulness of strength and power; and such as they should approve of when that time should come."

"That his majesty was fixed in his determination not only to acknowledge, but to support our independence by every means in his power. That in doing this, he might probably be soon engaged in war, with all the expenses, risk, and damage, usually attending it; yet he should not expect any compensation from us on that account, nor pretend that he acted wholly for our sakes, since besides his real good will to us and our cause, it was manifestly the interest of France that the power of England should be diminished by our separation from it. He should, moreover, not so much as insist, that if he engaged in a war with England on our account, we should not make a separate peace: he would have us be at full liberty to make a peace for ourselves, whenever good and advantageous terms were offered to us. The only condition he should require and rely on, would be this, that we, in no peace to be made with England, should give up our independency, and return to the obedience of that government."

At this period of our history, we may adopt the sentiments of wonder and admiration at the career of the infant republic, which Dr. Franklin expressed to Mr. Lee in conversation, in the following terms:—

"He told me the manner in which the whole of this business had been conducted was such a miracle in human affairs, that if he had not been in the midst of it, and seen all the movements, he could not have comprehended how it was effected. To comprehend it, we must view a whole people, for some months without any laws or government at all. In this state, their civil governments were to be formed, an army and navy were to be provided by those who had neither a ship of war, a company of soldiers, nor magazines, arms, artillery, or ammunition. Alliances were to be formed, for they had none. All this was to be done, not at leisure, nor in a time of tranquillity and communication with other nations, but in the face of a most formidable invasion by the most powerful nation, fully provided with armies, fleets, and all the instruments of destruction, powerfully allied and aided, the commerce with other nations in a great measure stopped up, and every power from whom they could expect to procure arms, artillery, and ammunition, having by the influence of their enemies forbade their subjects to supply them, on any pretence whatever. Nor was this all; they had internal opposition to encounter, which alone would seem sufficient to have frustrated all their efforts. The Scotch, who in many places were numerous, were secret or open foes, as opportunity offered. The Quakers, a powerful body in Pennsylvania, gave every opposition their art, abilities, and influence could suggest. To these were added all those whom contrariety of opinion, tory principles, personal animosities, fear of so dreadful and dubious an undertaking, joined with the artful promises and threats of the enemy, rendered open or concealed opposers, or timid neutrals, or lukewarm friends to the proposed revolution. It was, however, formed and established in despite of all these obstacles, with an expedition, energy, wisdom, and success, of which most certainly the whole history of human affairs has not hitherto given an ex-



ample. To account for it, we must remember, that the revolution was not directed by the leaders of faction, but by the opinion and voice of the majority of the people; that the grounds and principles upon which it was formed, were known, weighed, and approved by every individual of that majority. It was not a tumultuous resolution, but a deliberate system. Consequently, the feebleness, irresolution, and inaction, which generally, nay, almost invariably attends and frustrates hasty popular proceedings, did not influence this. On the contrary, every man gave his assistance to execute what he had soberly determined, and the sense of the magnitude and danger of the undertaking, served only to quicken their activity, rouse their resources, and animate their exertions. Those who acted in council, bestowed their whole thoughts upon the public; those who took the field did, with what weapons, ammunition, and accommodation they could procure. In commerce, such profits were offered, as tempted the individuals of almost all nations, to break through the prohibition of their governments, and furnish arms and ammunition, for which they received from a people ready to sacrifice every thing to the common cause, a thousand fold. The effects of anarchy were prevented by the influence of public shame pursuing the man who offered to take a dishonest advantage of the want of law. So little was the effect of this situation felt, that a gentleman who thought their deliberations on the establishment of a form of government too slow, gave it as his opinion, that the people were likely to find out that laws were not necessary, and might therefore be disposed to reject what they proposed, if it were delayed. Dr. Franklin assured me, that upon an average, he gave twelve hours in the twenty-four to public business. One may conceive what progress must be made from such exertions of such an understanding, aided by the co-operation of a multitude of others upon such business, not of inferior abilities. The consequence was, that in a few months, the governments were established; codes of law were formed, which, for wisdom and justice, are the admiration of all the wise and thinking men in Europe. Ships of war were built, a multitude of cruisers were fitted out, which have done more injury to the British commerce, than it ever suffered before. Armies of offence and defence were formed, and kept the field, through all the rigours of winter, in the most rigorous climate. Repeated losses, inevitable in a defensive war, as it soon became, served only to renew exertions that quickly repaired them. The enemy was every where resisted, repulsed, or besieged. On the ocean, in the channel, in their very ports, their ships were taken, and their commerce obstructed. The greatest revolution the world ever saw, is likely to be effected in a few years; and the power that has for centuries made all Europe tremble, assisted by 20,000 German mercenaries, and favoured by the universal concurrence of Europe to prohibit the sale of warlike stores, the sale of prizes, or the admission of the armed vessels of America, will be effectually humbled by those whom she insulted and injured, because she conceived they had neither spirit nor power to resist or revenge it."

Such a view of the great political miracle accomplished for America, cannot be too generally disseminated and studied.

The disclosures of the existence of most unfortunate dissensions among the commissioners, are too frequent in these volumes to be passed entirely unnoticed; but shunning the disagreeable task of exhibiting the whole grounds of complaint, we must dismiss the subject, by expressing our judgment on the controversy to be shortly this: that Mr. Deane was at least guilty of unjustifiable neglect of Mr. Lee's privileges as a joint-commissioner; and that Mr. Lee should have lost no time in making the most explicit communications to Congress itself, of the suspicions he

entertained.\* With respect to the reflections on the conduct of Dr. Franklin, we think it sufficiently shown and admitted by Mr. Lee himself, that the good nature of him who was then called "Pater Patriæ," was imposed upon; that he never entered into any connexion inconsistent with his duties as a functionary, and that his advanced age may fully excuse any apparent contradiction of his general character for unsuspected honesty.

During this time, Mr. Lee acted also as agent for Virginia, and had the address to procure, under circumstances of special favour, from the royal arsenal, warlike stores, to the amount of nearly 260,000 pounds sterling.

In December 1777, Congress delegated him sole commissioner to Spain; still retaining him on the commission to France. The British ambassador remonstrated against his reception; in consequence of which he was detained at Burgos, on his way to Madrid; but upon sending a spirited reply to the remonstrance, no further interruption was attempted, and he proceeded to the capital. He there pursued the same policy which he had practised in London and Paris; ingratiating himself and his cause with the men of influence, and appealing boldly and directly to the government; from which he finally procured a large pecuniary loan. Having accomplished all that seemed practicable, he returned to Paris; when, the commissioners having determined on the expediency of conciliating Frederic of Prussia, and prevailing with him to withhold his assistance from England, Mr. Lee was selected for that duty, and repaired to Berlin, where he was allowed to reside in a private character, and to correspond secretly with the Court, through the prime minister, Baron Schulenburg. The republican deputy, not satisfied with so slow and formal a procedure, addressed a memorial to the monarch, setting forth the advantages offered to his dominions by a commercial intercourse with the new states, combating the objections which would be likely to arise in the councils of the king, asserting the independence of America, urging precedents from the histories of Portugal and Sweden, and citing Vattel to remove all doubt of the lawfulness of acknowledging an enemy of England. Schulenburg replied, that his master could not, "in the present circumstances of things, affront the court of London."

"He succeeded in obtaining from Frederick an assurance that he would afford no facilities to Great Britain, in procuring additional German auxiliaries, and that he would prohibit the passage through any part of his dominions of any troops which that court should hereafter engage in Germany. He obtained also permission for the citizens of the United States to carry on a direct com-

\* Our readers are referred for an exposition of the Beaumarchais business, to Pitkin's History, vol. I. ch. x.

merce with the subjects of Prussia; and for himself to purchase for the use of the United States, arms at the armories from which the king supplied his armies. Mr. Lee left Berlin with an understanding that a correspondence should be kept up between Schulenburg and himself, on the affairs of the United States. He was desired to keep the king constantly informed of the events of the war with Great Britain; and was assured that Prussia '*would not be the last power to acknowledge the independency of his country.*'"

Whilst in Berlin, his papers were stolen from his chamber; but, upon an order from the king to investigate the affair, they were secretly returned. The blame of this act Mr. Lee cast on the British envoy, who, on the representation of the Prussian monarch, was recalled. The diligent commissioner maintained a correspondence with Prussia from Paris, whilst he was actively engaged there in forwarding supplies, and maintaining the credit of his constituents for payment.

In forming the commercial treaty with France, Lee objected to two articles, in which it was stipulated that no duties should be charged by the respective governments on any merchandise exported to the French West Indies which yielded molasses, or on the molasses exported thence to the United States. This, he sagaciously observed, was "tying both our hands, with the expectation of binding one of her fingers." His fellow commissioners unwillingly receded from their assent to these articles, and on the suggestion of France, the decision was left to Congress, who directed that they should be expunged. Upon the recall of Mr. Deane, John Adams was appointed his successor, between whom and Mr. Lee entire confidence and friendship subsisted. Their services were soon afterwards superseded by the appointment of Dr. Franklin as minister plenipotentiary.

The peculations of the subordinate agents who were employed to conduct the commercial details of the public business, had excited the vigilant inspection and unsparing reprehension of Mr. Lee. This interference created a multitude of complaints and insinuations, which were artfully disseminated at home. These rumours were, in some measure, successful in exciting the suspicions of some members of Congress; and when, in 1779, it was determined to send a minister to Spain, and Mr. Lee was certainly so prominent a character as to be at once suggested as the fittest candidate, he was not appointed, although nominated. It is proper, however, to quote the opinion of John Dickinson, to show that the result was partly owing to other causes. In a letter to Mr. Lee, he says:—

"In mentioning these things, I cannot forbear saying, that it appeared plain to me, that if some of those who truly loved you, had not mingled too refined a policy with their affection, the vote would not have looked so severe as it does. When they perceived that some gentlemen, who thought that employing you in Spain was unadvisable, were at the same time averse to any resolution that might, though only by implication, reflect on your honour, they seemed to expect some advantage, even from the harshness of the question."

Upon learning this virtual censure, Mr. Lee resigned his other appointments, and returned to America in August, 1780. He prepared an elaborate report of his official proceedings, and direct answers to all the charges which had been circulated to his prejudice; but upon requesting leave to vindicate himself with these in Congress, that body expressed their full confidence in his patriotism; asserting that they had no accusations to make: and requested him to communicate his views and information acquired during his residence abroad.

He intended to withdraw to private life; but, in 1781, was elected to the Assembly of Virginia, and by it returned to Congress, where he continued to represent the state until 1785, taking a full share in the laborious duties of the committees. In 1784, he was sent on a delegation to make treaties with the Indians on the northern frontier:—

“He kept a regular journal of his travels from Philadelphia to the lakes, and Fort Stanwix, through the western part of Pennsylvania. He examined the country through which he passed, with the eye of a statesman and a philosopher. He traces the course of its rivers, and their possible connexions; and describes the various soils, productions, and minerals, which his time and duties permitted him to ascertain.

“He turned his acute and active mind, at this time, very earnestly to the study of the origin, languages, customs, and character of the aboriginal inhabitants of North America. To aid his investigation of this interesting subject, he obtained the acquaintance and correspondence of several learned Moravian scholars at Bethlehem and Leditz, in Pennsylvania, who had, at a very early period of the settlement of that state, been sent by the pious and benevolent sect of Christians to which they belonged, as missionaries among the Indians. From one of those excellent men, he obtained a learned essay on the origin, customs, religion, and language of the Algonquin and Iroquois races. This learned Moravian, who had long and profoundly studied these subjects, had been convinced, particularly by the similarity of languages, in their roots especially, that our Indians are descendants of the lost tribes of the Jews, whose ancestors, at some remote period, he supposed, had crossed over the Straits of Behring from Asia. Some additional interest was imparted to this journey of Mr. Lee, by the presence of our national favourite and friend, Lafayette, who, with his characteristic zeal for our country, accompanied the commissioners, to assist them by the influence of his name, in conciliating their red brothers.”

He remained at Fort Stanwix during an inclement winter, and in the spring satisfactorily concluded several treaties. Of his journal, a small portion is extant, and is published as the 11th appendix of the biography; unfortunately, it ends before the negotiation commenced. The following is his record at *Pittsburg*: the augury, then so natural, will now be read with amusement:—

“Pittsburg is inhabited almost entirely by Scots and Irish, who live in paltry log-houses, and are as dirty as in the north of Ireland, or even Scotland. There is a great deal of small trade carried on; the goods being brought at the vast expense of forty-five shillings per cwt., from Philadelphia and Baltimore. They take, in the shops, money, wheat, flour, and skins. There are in the town four attorneys, two doctors, and not a priest of any persuasion, nor church, nor chapel. The rivers encroach fast on the town; and to such a degree, that, as a gen-



tleman told me, the Alleghany had within thirty years of *his* memory, carried away one hundred yards. The place, *I believe*, will never be very considerable."

He was next called to the Board of Treasury, in association with Samuel Osgood and Walter Livingston, in which he continued from 1784 to 1789. Within that period, he served in a legislative committee to revise the laws of Virginia. On the dissolution of the Treasury Board, he once more sought the relief of retirement, and established himself on a farm on the Rappahannock.

"One of the most abundant sources of enjoyment which contributed to his pleasures in private life, was his correspondence with his political, literary, and scientific friends in America and Europe. Among these, were many distinguished men in England, Burke, Barré, Wyndham, the Marquis of Lansdowne, Sir William Jones, and the Earl of Buchan, in Scotland; on the continent, the Marquis of Rosignan, Baron de Breteuil, Count de Moustair, Abbés D'Arnou and Raynal, the Duke of Rochefoucault, and other persons of literary and political eminence. He enjoyed the correspondence of most of the distinguished men of the United States."

Like the father of his country, he fixed upon agricultural occupation, the most natural and congenial rest, after the toils of his active life; but, as in his case, this prospect was prematurely closed. Whilst assisting in the planting of an orchard, in December, 1792, the cold and rain to which he was exposed produced an attack of pleurisy, that proved fatal on the 12th of the month, when he was but 52 years of age. Mr. Lee's person was finely proportioned; his face handsome; his manners and conversation attractive. He was not married. His biographer states, that he was "an enthusiastic admirer" of, and a "favourite with," the other sex; and quotes one of his journals for the reasons he assigned for his bachelorship—they are certainly too romantic to be of native growth:—

"With my sentiments of love and marriage, I am not likely to find a wife. An Emma, an Eloise, or a Constantia, would alone answer the high enthusiastic ideas I possess of wedded love. I am afraid I should regard any one, unactuated by their ardent and absolute sentiments of love, as a house-keeper; not as the wife of my bosom, from whose glowing tenderness, love would 'light his constant lamp,' 'would reign and revel.' I am convinced that love is the most cordial drop that heaven has poured into the cup of man. But as it is precious, it is rare. I have seen ladies whom I sincerely loved; but the tempest of my fortune bore me from them before I had time to know their real dispositions, or woo them 'to approve my pleaded reason;' for they were like Eve, 'endued with a conscience of their worth,' that would be wooed, and not unsought be won."

Mr. Lee's abilities as a diplomatist, were characterized by indefatigable zeal, the purest integrity, and political skillfulness. In his negotiations, he was open and direct, and above all *tracasserie*. His earnestness in the cause sometimes led him to measures of boldness and bluntness, which temporizing men would have industriously avoided. He was present in the House

of Commons, when Mr. Wedderburne, (Lord Loughborough) charged the colonists with preventing British merchants from recovering their just debts: upon the rising of the house, Lee sent Wedderburne a note, contradicting the accusation, and calling on him to retract it publicly, on penalty of being published "as a propagator of mischievous calumnies against America." Of the same species, are his letter to Lord North on the treatment of American prisoners, signed by the Commissioners, (vol. i. 102,) his memoir to the king of Prussia, (i. 91,) and his interruption of the philosophical disquisition of Turgot, whom he found calculating the freezing point in a thermometer; and upon his expressing his preference of Reaumur's scale to Fahrenheit's, Mr. Lee abruptly "told him that finances were what required most of our attention now; we want a system of finance." But these are honourable traits, however singular as departures from the obsequiousness usually witnessed in bureaux. Mr. Lee's genius, like that of his associate, Franklin, was eminently practical, and the ardour of his patriotism could ill brook the delays and flourishes which the comparative insignificance of ordinary subjects of diplomacy may render harmless.

His good sense and talents are amply developed in his correspondence, and corroborated by the frequency with which it was sought by the most conspicuous men of the revolution, and the deference paid to his views. The second volume of his *Life* contains letters from a large and honourable list of correspondents, who seem to have placed the highest value on his friendship. The principle expressed in a letter from John Adams, was eminently exemplified in Mr. Lee's course:—

"As to jobs, I never had and never will have any thing to do in any, let the consequence to me and my family be what it will. The trusts with which you and I have been honoured by our country, are too sacred to be tarnished by the little selfish intrigues, in which the little insects about a court are eternally buzzing. If I had neither a sense of duty, nor the pride of virtue, nor any other pride; if I had no higher principle or quality than vanity, it would mortify this, in an extreme degree, to sully and debase so pure a cause by any such practices."

The same patriot, writing from the Hague, in 1785, on the politics of Holland, says:—

"A spirit of opposition has pervaded this middle rank of citizens; volunteer corps are formed and disciplining. You observe their children even going through the exercise in playing about the streets, and every thing among them makes us recollect the year 1775 in America. This party views America with a veneration partiality, and so much attached are they to our opposition, that they seem fond of imitating us wherever they can, and of drawing parallels between the similar circumstances in the two countries. Not long ago an officer of one of the patriotic corps, lost the spirit of opposition, and went over to the opposite interest; he was immediately branded with the opprobrious name of the *American Arnold*."

There are several letters from Samuel Adams, full of fire and

intrepidity. Those from John Dickinson, are more calm in their style, but equally decided in their tone : he indeed confesses, in 1769, that he had "no idea of our happiness, unless we are dependent on Great Britain;" and continues to hope that the event of separation would be unnecessary :—

"No force, no emigration, is necessary for our protection. Divine providence has put it into our power, properly to resent the indignities offered us, the injustice done us, in a manner suitable to our loyalty for our prince, our affection for our parental country. Homespun clothes are all the armour, spades and ploughshares the weapons we shall use in this holy war. So gentle and so effectual are the means we shall employ. Yet, to speak freely, my heart bleeds at the prospect of our success. How mournful a reflection is it, that a just regard for ourselves must wound Great Britain, the mother of brave, generous, humane spirit, the chief bulwark of liberty on this globe, and the blessed seat of unspotted religion."

He says, in another epistle—

"My countrymen have been provoked, but not quite enough. Thanks to the excellent spirit of administration, I doubt not but proper measures will be pursued for provoking them still more. Some future oppression will render them more attentive to what is offered to them ; and the calm friend of freedom, who faithfully watches and calls out on a new danger, will be more regarded than if he endeavours to repeat the alarm on an attack that is thought to have been in some measure repelled. I do not despair. Our mercenaries have been defeated. Our native troops are firm. Afflicted I am, and ever shall be, that so considerable a class of men as the mercantile should have failed. But there is a spirit and a strength in the land-holders of this continent, sufficient to check the insolence of any infamously corrupt minister ; and so the most daring of them, perhaps sooner than he expects, may find."

And in writing an account of the Lexington murder, by the army of General Gage, he concludes with the firmness of a patriot :—

"We are a united, resolved people ; are, or quickly shall be, well armed and disciplined ; our smiths and powder-mills are at work day and night ; our supplies from foreign parts continually arriving. Good officers, that is, well-experienced ones, we shall soon have, and the navy of Great Britain cannot stop our whole trade. Our towns are but brick and stone, and mortar and wood. They, perhaps, may be destroyed. They are only the hairs of our heads. If sheared ever so close, they will grow again. We compare them not with our rights and liberties. We worship as our fathers worshipped, not idols which our hands have made."

We find the following notice of our late countryman, Benjamin West, in a letter from Mr. Lee to Edward Rutledge :—

"I am very desirous of engaging Mr. West to exert his faculties, in immortalizing the conduct of the ladies in Charleston, on canvass, with their husbands and friends, when they were sent to St. Augustine. It appears to me that a conduct so noble, so virtuous, and so patriotic, as never to have been exceeded, seldom equalled, should be perpetuated by a pencil the most powerful that the present age has produced. Such is the pencil of Mr. West. You will oblige me, sir, if you will give me such a description of that event, together with any anecdotes touching it, as you may think will aid the painter in expressing it well. Should Mr. West enter into the plan, such of the ladies and gentlemen as were present at that scene, and have good pictures of themselves, would perhaps take the trouble of sending them to Mr. West, in order that from the resemblance of persons, the piece may be more interesting, at least for some generations."

Among the friendships formed by Mr. Lee, whilst pursuing his studies in the Temple, was that of Sir William Jones, then also a student, and untitled. There are two letters of his in the present collection, and we eagerly copy the greatest part of that from Bengal, dated September 28, 1788.

"My dear Sir,—I am just escaped from Calcutta to my cottage, about a hundred miles from it, where I can repose but a few days, after a degree of judicial labour, of which an English bar can afford no example. We have been sitting seven hours a day, sometimes whole nights, for three months together; and that without any assistance from juries, except in criminal cases. The length of our sittings has left us hardly any vacation; and I have so large an arrear of letters for the ships of the season, that I must divide my mornings between all my friends, and write concisely to each, with a promise of longer letters the next season.

"The interesting picture you give of your country, has both light and shade in it; but though some rocks and thickets appear, to obstruct the foreground, I see the distant prospect brighten, and have a sanguine hope that I shall live to admire your constitution, in all the blaze of true liberty and universal justice. If young Englishmen had any English spirit, they would finish their education by visiting the United States, instead of fluttering about Italy; and strive to learn rather political wisdom from republicans, than to pick up a few superficial notions of the fine arts, from the poor thralls of bigotry and superstition. If I live, I seriously intend to make the tour of your states, before I retire to my Sabine farm; and my wife, who is much better than when I wrote last, often speaks of the scheme with delight.

"I have read the original of Halheld's book, which is not properly a code, but a short compendium or digest, compiled about ten or twelve years ago by eleven Brahmans, of whom only five are now living. The version was made by Halheld from the Persian, and that by a Musselman writer from the Bengal dialect, in which one of the Brahmans, (the same who has corrected my Sanscrit copy) explained it to him. A translation in the third degree from the original, must be, as you will easily imagine, very erroneous. The texts quoted in the original, are ascribed to the Gods; that is, they are of indefinite antiquity; but I cannot believe any of them to be more than three thousand years old. I am superintending a new work of the same kind, but more extensive, on the plan of Justinian's Digest, which some of the most learned of the native lawyers are compiling; they are stimulated to diligence by handsome monthly salaries. I shall not, if my health continues firm, think of leaving Asia, until I see the completion of a work, which will be the standard of justice among ten millions of men; and will, I trust, secure their inheritable property to their descendants."

When in Edinburgh, Mr. Lee became acquainted with Earl Buchan, then Lord Cardross, and they cherished an enduring esteem for each other throughout their careers. In 1775, the earl wrote,

"I have, for a long time, had views of becoming a vassal of my kinsman Fairfax, on the banks of the Potomac. I should be much obliged to you for information relating to his unsettled tracts, and the circumstances to be attended to in such speculations."

There are several agreeable letters from Dr. Richard Price, and from the Marquis de Rosignan; in the letters of the latter are some pithy sentences.

"If one has the jaundice, I consult him no more on colours, I know beforehand that he sees every thing yellow. Unfortunately, moral jaundice is far more universal among our species, than physical jaundice."



"The wicked do more business than those that are honest, because they do not hesitate about the means."

With Lord Shelburne, (Marquis of Lansdown,) he was in habits of intimacy whilst residing in England, frequently spending weeks at his mansion. There are letters of his from 1769 to 1791; we extract a passage from one of the latest:—

"Dear Sir,—Your nephew will tell you that it has not been my fault, that I have not seen more of him. He may depend on my attention and services. He will of course inform you of events here as they pass. But you know the causes of them far better than he can tell you, for the data continue exactly the same as you remember them. The character of the reign has suffered not the least variation; and though Lord Rockingham is no more, his party persevere exactly in the principles you remember, *fighting up*, as they called it, against the king and people, unconvinced by above twenty years' experience, of the impossibility of arriving at their end by such means; and still more so, of the unworthiness of that end, which you know too well, to make it necessary for me to dwell on the description. As to myself, I stand more single than ever; and the utmost to which I aspire is, by so much dint of character as the respective parties may leave me, or rather as consistency of conduct may procure me in spite of parties, and great moderation of conduct, to avert great calamities; or at least to blunt the edge of them, as far as I am able. I have no great virtue to boast of in adopting this line, for you are fully sensible that the reign is not disposed to delegate a regular course of power to any one, and I never had a passion for emolument."

Many of the political letters are almost unintelligible, in consequence of the obscure and allusive manner in which they were unavoidably written, and sometimes cyphered, lest they should fall into tory hands; but even these help to describe the dangers and difficulties of the times. We have not selected much from the documents, and the exclusively political correspondence, because their interest, in a great measure, depends upon their being read entire and consecutively; and with regard to all historical materials like those furnished in the present volumes, we would rather quicken than allay the curiosity of the public.

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ART. IX.—*History of the Republic of San Marino.* By MELCHIOR DEL FICO. Naples.

THIS is the only complete digest of the annals of a commonwealth, insignificant as to size and power, but celebrated in modern story almost in proportion to its diminutiveness. *San Marino* is the dwarf among the republican sovereignties—an object of wonder for its longevity, and of admiration for its moral qualities. The volume of the learned Neapolitan is a goodly quarto, elegantly and zealously written. A distinguished American—*George Washington Erving, Esq.*—who represented his country, as minister plenipotentiary, in Spain, during many

years, and with great ability, was so much struck with its contents, that he caused an English version of it to be made, at his own expense, which is yet inedited. From him we borrowed the original and translation, intending to present our readers at once with a compendium of the annals of San Marino; but considerations of expediency induced us to postpone this offering for a future number. In conversation with Mr. Erving, we expressed our desire to obtain from him, in some shape, a sketch of a tour in Italy which he performed some time ago, and particularly of his visit to San Marino, with the recent condition of which the world is scarcely at all acquainted, though it be doubtless an interesting subject. He obligingly assented to our request, in relation to his visit, and preferred the form of a letter. In lieu, therefore, of any historical synopsis of our own, we insert the following communication from his pen, without having altered the instructive and racy text, and with the certainty that it will prove acceptable to the American public. We trust that the translation of Del Fico's History, which appears to us exact and terse, will be printed, either entire, or abridged suitably for this meridian.

“*Washington, November 1st, 1829.*

“I should not hesitate to comply with the wish which you have expressed, of receiving from me some account of my tour in Italy during the years 1812–13, could I find sufficient materials for the purpose amongst the notes which I made at the time; but by the winds which have carried me into different quarters of the world since that period, my papers have been scattered like the leaves of the Sibyls: in that portion of them which I find here, are but a few desultory memoranda, and the greater part of the letters which I wrote from Italy to my correspondent in Washington, I destroyed, myself, on a former visit to the city. Whatever your partiality may have expected from my authorship, certainly the public will not suffer by my silence, for we have ‘*Travels in Italy*’ in all languages, and to satiety.—There is not an object of rational or idle curiosity in that region, which has not been minutely described over and over again, in all forms, and by all calibres of taste and stupidity;—by the smellfungi and the mundungi, as by the inquisitive, classical, and the philosophical; in fine, by every species and degree of travelling genius. Certain it is, that I could not add any thing of interest to this profusion of narration, good, bad, and indifferent; and after all I doubt not but that literature and taste could well dispense with five-sixths of what has been already written. Though Sancho, (who with me is great authority,) says ‘who travels far sees much,’ I must avow, after having traversed Europe in many directions, that I have seen but

few objects compensating all the pains and inconveniences of the travel.—This is a confession which few travellers will make, for it implies a sort of duperly; and yet I am persuaded that the most rational part of them cannot in their candour say otherwise;—confessing, with John Moody, that ‘whoam is whoam be it ever so whoamly.’ The fact is, that but few men know how to be happy where they are; hence the desire to be where they are not,—the locomotive mania; and it is not till after the repeated sacrifice of all our comforts to this travelling passion, that we are able duly to estimate the ‘dulce domum.’ Graciously to consent to be jolted and jumbled about for weeks and months at the discretion of coachmen and postillions—to be thus kept in a state of perpetual slow fever, whilst half smothered with dust, or bespattered and begrimed with mud—one’s limbs always exposed to fracture or dislocation—to be fed as chance may direct—to sleep in filthy and damp beds—to be cheated every where and by every body, from the money-changer to the hostler—withal to be momentarily in danger of being robbed by wholesale, if not murdered, on the highway;—this would seem to approach to delirium, and yet, what in general is the compensation? Why, to see hills, and dales, and trees, variously disposed; houses of various construction, some with gable ends, and some with their fronts towards the street;—the animal man speaking various jargons, guttural or nasal; and variously accoutred, some in short jackets, some in long cloaks, some with three pair of breeches, and some without any. I will confess, however, that a tour in Italy is the most *justifiable* of tours, that is, the least irrational, and that I saw there even six objects worth the pains of travel, viz. the passage over the Simplon, the city of Venice, the antiquities of Rome, those of Naples, i. e. Herculaneum, Pompeii and Pæstum, Vesuvius, and then above all the Republic of San Marino, the most deserving of notice, and the least known. I make no account of Milan, Florence, or Naples itself—of Isola bella, or Isola madre, of the lake of Como more than of the Pontine marshes, nor of the Pope of Rome more than of our Lady of Loretto.

“The passage from Martigny to Domo d’Ossola, as a work of art, is unequalled;—the finest road in Europe, traversing a chain of its most elevated and rugged mountains, penetrating its most tremendous gorges, springing over its profound and precipitous torrents, perforating deep and gigantic towering masses of its granite, the gradual ascent and descent regulated every where with such mathematical precision as to enable the traveller to pass with nearly as much speed as he could on a level,—this certainly is worthy of a visit. Venice is also in another kind unique, as a stupendous monument of human industry;—to go ‘on board’ a city at anchor in the Adriatic is worth some trouble; to see

a vast population living in abundance in a place where there is not space for a blade of grass, where there is not a drop of fresh water, and consequently not a domestic animal, either of those which assist in our labour, furnish our nourishment, or contribute to our pleasures; this is highly interesting. The antiquities of Rome, as well as those scattered in the way to it, are but uncouth masses of ruins for the general traveller, though in their reference to history and classical reminiscences, they may afford ample occupation to the studious or contemplative:—so of the antiquities of ‘magna Græcia,’ with however the additional gratification, common to the most stupid, of walking in the streets, and entering the very houses of Pompeii. The ever-burning and groaning Vesuvius unites all tastes; for, as a natural phenomenon it is within the comprehension of all intellects, though every one has not an opportunity of seeing its lava flow, and still fewer of seeing the fiery torrent arrested in its course by the procession of Saint Januarius.

“But leaving all these ‘meaner things,’ repeatedly described, I am rather disposed to indulge myself by giving you a slight sketch of San Marino, for though it is the object which is most worthy of observation, it is that which has been the least observed; perhaps the only spot in Italy untrodden or undescribed by the ‘travellers’ and ‘tourists:’ and this I am the better able to do, since I happen to have in my possession more ample notes respecting my visit to this most interesting republic, besides the history of it, published in 1804, by the learned Neapolitan, Melchior Del Eico.—To say the truth, a pilgrimage to San Marino was the principal purpose of my visit to Italy; and here I cannot but express to you my astonishment, that of all the Americans who had travelled there before me, only one, (Mr. Huger of South Carolina,) had been at San Marino!—and his visit preceded mine by fifteen years! Surely, though there may be many interesting objects in Europe, that single mountain ought most to engage the attention of an *American* traveller,—and yet there are many who are not acquainted with even its geographical position; others there may be, (less to be blamed,) who have never visited it, because only they have never heard of its existence. I say that it was the principal object of my journey: following, then, the ‘via Emiliana,’ I crossed the Rubicon where Cæsar crossed it, and on the 17th October, 1812, entered Rimini, (the ancient Ariminum,) where is preserved the pedestal from which he harangued his troops; so at least says the inscription—the authenticity of which learned antiquarians will never dispute; but which I, having no similar interest in the matter, pronounced, at the first glance, to be comparatively modern:—

‘C. Cæsar Dict: Rubicone separato civili Bel:  
commilit: suos hic in foro ar: (meaning ariminio) adlocuit.’



“At Rimini I obtained a letter of introduction from Sigr. Belmonte, commandant of marine, ‘*Al ornatissimo Sigr. El Signor Antonio Onosri Representante de la Republica de San Marino.*’ The Republic is about ten miles (twelve by the road) south-west of Rimini, in that district of Italy comprised between the Appenines, the Po, and the Adriatic; a portion of the ancient Umbria, which was afterwards called by the Romans, Gallia Cispadana—now Romagna, or more properly, Romagnola. The original name of its mountain was ‘Titano;’ it has its present name from the first settler on it, one Marino, a stone-cutter, from Dalmatia, who, in the fourth century, chose it as a religious retreat, and in due time became a saint. It was his piety which first settled the place; his disciples formed a religious community; out of this grew a political society founded on moral principles, industry, and equality, the most solid basis for just and rational civil institutions;—and here we have the principal cause of the durability of this republic. Its small territory was slowly and gradually extended till the twelfth century, by purchases from bordering states and owners of land; in fine, by peaceful acquisition; and has since remained as it now is within a circumference of forty miles: advancing thus by slow steps, it acquired degrees of strength always in proportion to its extent, and formed, in the same progress, its institutions, so as to ensure their permanence. When the Republic had attained such an extension of territory and increase of population as gave to it political importance, this, and its fortified position, made it an object for the ambition of its neighbours; and it was thus compelled, for a long course of years, to support a struggle for its independence; but its isolated situation exempted it from a participation in the violent commotions which for some centuries agitated Italy, nor did it ever voluntarily interfere in those contests, almost continual, amongst the little dukes and princes who bordered on its territory. Free from the civil disorders and discords which raged around it, its progress was necessarily prosperous; when even it was inevitably involved in the frenetic struggle between the Guelphs and Gibbelines, which devastated Italy during the twelfth century, yet the elements of its happiness remained uninjured, and it issued from that disastrous period with its liberty and independence entire. With the genuine energy of liberty and patriotism, it was able to resist and defeat even the intrigues and ambition of the papal see, and the never-ceasing episcopal cabals of the 13th century. During each period of calm, the Republic was occupied in perfecting its legislation and modifying its administrative system, so as to adapt it to the always augmenting prosperity of the state; thus, (in the year 1295,) it regulated in a more strictly republican form the executive power, then first styled ‘Captain and Defender;’ limiting

his term of service to six months, making him dependent on a council of twelve, and decreeing that no person but a native born citizen should be intrusted with public authority ; so subsequently in 1353, and again, in 1441, there were revisals of the code of laws, and many meliorations introduced.

“ The end of the last century, which so changed the face of Italy, affected this republic no otherwise than in its foreign relations, and, in that respect, advantageously ; for, surrounded before by the states of the church, it found itself suddenly in the midst of sister republics. It is generally supposed that it remained undisturbed at that epoch, because it did not present a sufficient temptation to the conquerors of Italy ; but this is a gross error. Whoever has read the history of our time with attention, will have seen that much less important cities and communities, that even the smallest social fractions, have been absorbed by conquest, wherever they had a greater or less dependence on, or connexion with, a superior state ; or whenever their conduct authorized a suspicion of a tendency to hostility. No ;—it was the real independence of San Marino, its perfectly just and innocent policy—its total exemption from all suspicion of any concealed and perfidious hostility, which protected it. Indeed, far from considering San Marino as opposed to the dominant opinions, it was natural to consider her as specially favourable to them ; she herself furnished, by her duration of ages, the best proof of the feasibility of the proposed regeneration. The generous and enlightened mind of the conqueror not only respected her principles, but offered his homage to this sanctuary of liberty by a solemn embassy, in the person of Monge, to express sincere sentiments of friendship and fraternity, to make offers of an extension of territory, and to carry presents in artillery, and other means of additional security : the presents were accepted by the Republic as monuments of the benevolence of the French people, and of the magnanimity of the ‘ Hero of Italy,’—but, at the same time, adhering to its sage principles and circumspection, it declined the offer of territorial aggrandizement. What a glorious epoch this ! when pure liberty, established for ages, couched on the summit of its mountain, whilst all the states about it were adopting its principles, received the homage of the first people in Europe, brought to its foot by the first of men and the greatest of conquerors. From that period to this, no change of any importance has taken place in the affairs of the Republic.

“ But to return to my visit : the road not being of the best, the latter part altogether precipitous ; as well on that account, as to arrive in the most modest form amongst this simple people, I left my carriage at Rimini, and took my way on foot.—All ‘ travel tainted’ as I was, Don Antonio, as well as his brother, received me with open arms ;—these brothers, both bachelors passed the

middle age, I found in a spacious mansion of granite, poised upon a beetling rock, whose dark lengthened shade seemed to frown over the surrounding territory of Rimini, and even the distant Adriatic. It is scarcely possible for me to convey to you an idea of the delight with which they received me as an *American*:—their manner was not merely hospitable—it was affectionate in the warmest degree;—I was of their kindred from the moment of my arrival.—Both men of letters and of superior information, they had a sincere and profound devotional attachment to our country; they looked up to it with reverence and gratitude, as the grand exemplar and conservator of their own pure principles;—nor have I ever met in Europe, even amongst the most intelligent of those who have visited the United States, men so intimately acquainted as these were, with our institutions, and the details of the administration of our affairs at home, and of its relations abroad, though neither of the brothers had ever gone out of the limits of the republic, except once, when the elder had been sent to Milan to compliment Napoleon on his coronation as king of Italy.—As nothing concerning the United States was indifferent to them, probably there is not any where a private library so well furnished as is theirs, with books, pamphlets, and documents of all sorts relating to America. They earnestly pressed me to reside with them several days, but as not expecting such a fraternal reception, I had not come prepared to stay, I passed but a day with them; and their questions respecting all things relating to our affairs were so incessant, so ardent was the interest which they manifested in our concerns, that I found it impossible to obtain all the information I desired.—Indeed, it had been an ungrateful return for their hospitality to occupy their attention by pressing on them the many questions which I also was eager to make:—we had materials for conversations of a month when I took my departure, —and to supply the information which they had not time to give to me, they referred me by letter of introduction to their friend Del Fico of Naples, author of the work before mentioned,—Don Antonio assuring me that it was the only one worth reading, and that all the brief accounts of the republic which had been previously published, were full of errors and prejudices. I did not fail on my arrival at Naples to find Mr. Del Fico, and he made me a present of his book; this, on my return to America, I caused to be translated;—I may hereafter print it; for this most curious history ought to excite peculiar interest in the United States; I think also, that it offers some excellent lessons, of which even Americans may profit. Del Fico, who, during the troubles of Italy expatriated himself, and became a citizen of San Marino, where he resided several years, had free access to the archives

of the Republic ; so that his work is complete, besides being distinguished by a rare spirit of impartiality and philosophy.

“I have said that the actual territory of San Marino, is a circumference of forty miles ; I learned from Don Antonio, that its population was then 7000 ; there are no extraordinarily rich, nor any abjectly poor amongst them :—strangers are permitted to settle, and after six years residence may be naturalized and hold inferior offices, (but not executive.)—The executive, now called ‘Captain Regent,’—is chosen every six months by the representatives of the people, sixty in number, chosen also every six months by the people, who in these periodical assemblies make all such reforms in their affairs as they may deem to be necessary. Every man, capable of bearing arms, is enrolled amongst ‘*the defenders of the country and its laws ;*’ all the officers of the government serve without pay ; the Republic pays a doctor and a schoolmaster only ;—the taxes are consequently very light, exactly proportionate to the public necessities on the most economical scale: Don Antonio told me that a man of 40,000 dollars capital, pays about two dollars a year (I presume direct tax). Besides San Marino proper, the city and seat of government, there is at the foot of the mountain a large ‘Bourg,’ and at a small distance from that a village ; the remainder of the territory presents the prospect of a rich soil, producing abundance of corn, wine, and oil, all of the best quality:—neat farm houses, fields well cultivated and well stocked, vineyards and olive gardens, compose a landscape the most enchanting,—and the most gratifying to the heart of him who reflects that all these indications of happiness, result from a wise and just social order ;—on all sides are seen the happy effects of ‘equality ;’ comfort and competence, peace and harmony. Such is the republic of San Marino, which through a long course of ages has preserved its independence and its wise institutions, in the midst of the wars and civil commotions with which it has been surrounded, and notwithstanding all the efforts of violence, corruption and intrigue to destroy it ; there it proudly stands uninjured, the prototype of a civil association the most perfect and admirable, such as, before it was formed, existed only in the Utopias of philosophers.

“Though I doubt not, as I have before observed, that the history of this little republic will furnish useful lessons even to us, yet it must be allowed that the very extraordinary duration of its system without any material alteration, is in a great degree to be attributed to the confined extent of its territory and population ; for the moral order, on which every thing depends, is best preserved in a small society ; there also, the social compact, the ‘common cause,’ is more firm ;—there individual energies are more efficient ; and there whatever menaces danger is more quickly felt, and more promptly extinguished :—in such a socie-



ty, every individual acting in public affairs,—being a portion of the body politic, has an honourable political existence;—hence the intellectual faculties of each, as applicable to the public interests, are perfectionated:—there is no *refuse* in the community, and consequently none of the disorders, and vices, and turbulence which belong to such refuse. These causes explain also, the extraordinary vigour of some of those small republics of antiquity, which figure in history as large and powerful states;—some such, of modern times, have still flourished even in the presence, and notwithstanding the efforts of powerful neighbours, till they were degraded into oligarchies.

“In discussing the causes which have chiefly contributed to the extraordinary duration of San Marino, Mr. Del Fico well observes, that there ‘*the altar of liberty was raised by the side of justice.*’—The other codes of Italy, on the organization of its several communities, commenced in imitation of the Justinian; in a connexion with theology;—San Marino confined itself to the *reason* of civil government: the people then were attached to their laws by sentiment, as well as by habit; they understood them in their morality, as well as in their authority; the sobriety and simplicity of the original settlers, carried into their institutions, were preserved through all the subsequent modifications of the system of administration,—for the extension of the territory was but gradual, and consequently the adaptation of those modifications.—All the perils to which free institutions are exposed by a too rapid prosperity, by the sudden grandeur of conquest, by the passion of *national glory*, did not exist for San Marino.—It arrived at its democratic perfection by natural and regular degrees;—hence its solidity:—it could not possibly degenerate into oligarchy; that had been to invert the natural order.—The government of the few is the infancy of human association, the government of the whole the true manhood:—the patriarchal first, and then the aristocratical authority, are the regular gradations of government in its commencement: as population augments, intellect advances, and information spreads; these kinds of domestic authority are weakened, and it becomes necessary to admit to power a greater number of individuals;—thus we finally arrive at the representative system,—or in a small republic to a pure democracy, the perfection of government.

“The sagacity and prudence of the democracy of San Marino were manifested at all times in all its ordinances; thus, as the author of its history tells us—‘at no period did it ever admit of any extension of the term of six months, (for the executive), wisely considering that a long indulgence in power naturally produces the desire still to prolong it.’—Perhaps some considerable inconveniences would belong to the shortness of this term,

in a very extensive republic like ours ; but it must be admitted in general thesis, that in proportion to the importance of the power delegated, ought to be the shortness of the term allowed for the exercise of it. Another peculiarity well worth noticing in the regulations of the republic is, that '*the oath of the executive power is taken on the book of the statutes, and not on the holy Evangelists.*' As at various times nobles were adopted by the republic, these, though they remained noble in name, became strictly *citizens* in fact ;—thus, as Mr. Del Fico observes, 'there never was any public office conferred by privilege to any particular class or set of families, never was any prerogative or rank established by law, nor had the reputation of the longest genealogy any political influence on this people.'

"I have before noticed Don Antonio's opinion as to all the accounts of San Marino which had been published previous to the history of Signor Del Fico ; I will now then conclude with an extract from the critical remarks of this author on the works of his predecessors. (I quote the translation as it has been made for me :)—

'This is what I have thought myself authorized to say on this remarkable government, consistently with the truth of facts, and a rational view of their causes ; and if it should not entirely conform to other narrations, heretofore published, this probably arises from the fact, that by some it has been spoken of too favourably, by others with odious prejudice and hostility, and often without full knowledge of those circumstances on which the truth depends. Some have deduced these political forms from the eternal mansion of Astrea, others have placed them below mediocrity and common sense. I do not propose to enter upon an examination of all the unfounded satirical or economical discourses, and of all the extravagant and unreasonable observations which have been made on this little state, but I cannot pass over in silence some illustrious names in political science, who have made it a particular object of attention ; such were the celebrated Englishmen, Addison, Adams,\* and Gillies. Beginning with the latest, I shall remark, that being profoundly versed in the knowledge of the Greek republics, of which he has given us a most learned and complete history, in addition to other works on similar subjects, he did not think it right to overlook the republic of San Marino ; hence to the second book of his able translation of the politics of Aristotle, he has appended a memoir on our republic ; but as he did no more than publish a piece written by Sir Cox Hippiesley, and communicated to him by Sir John Macpherson, there is nothing of his own in it except a short introduction, in which he says that when treating of the Greek republics, he often recollected the Italian states of the middle ages, regarding them as rough and feeble images of the Greek governments, *of which however one and only one exists, resembling those ancient models*; thus simply characterizing it, he did not undertake to make a comparison ; and the relation by Macpherson, almost entirely historical, and exceedingly incorrect, does not contribute to our information by any important reflections.

"Addison did not neglect to visit this republic in his *travels in Italy*, and Adams spoke of it in his *Examination of Republican Constitutions* ; but a passing traveller, who is unable to examine for himself, and trusts to the statements of every informant, is extremely liable to be deceived ; particularly if he is stimulated by a desire of saying what is uncommon and singular, a vice not unfrequent in

\* John Adams an *Englishman* !—that we will not allow. Mr. Del Fico cannot have known Mr. Adams, otherwise than by the book quoted.

writers of travels.—Addison, therefore, though a profound philosopher, was very superficial in his discourse on this republic:—and Adams, who never saw Titano, and on this subject was a mere commentator on Addison, reproaches him with it, remarking, that ‘the fine arts, and the superb monuments with which Italy abounds, certainly occupied his attention more than a rude mountain, although the form of government adopted by its inhabitants might for a moment excite his curiosity, or their morals claim his esteem.’ If the commentator thus decides on the text, I fear we cannot pass more favourably on the commentary;—he in fact not being in possession of any other information in regard to this subject, could do nothing more than examine the text, and deduce his inferences, to arrive at two principal results or conclusions. I omit that which he might have dispensed with, viz. that San Marino is not to be compared with Pennsylvania, or the other United States of America, and shall confine myself to what he has said on the nature and form of government.—This, he says, far from wearing the semblance of democracy, is of an aristocratical character, and similar to that of ancient Rome; which is manifestly opposed to all that we have hitherto advanced. Adams, however, is to be pitied; for he was led into error by Addison, who stated that the council of the Republic of San Marino was by law composed one half of nobles, and the other half of plebeians. Now this is not to be found in any known statute, nor was there ever any extraordinary resolution of the council by which it could have been established. It was therefore never true, in fact, nor could it have been, by reason of the small number of noble families, a single individual in each of which could alone have been a counsellor; and it often happened, also, that from exceptions, absence, and other causes, some of these families were wholly deprived of this honour; instead, then, of composing one half of the council, they formed but a small part, which certainly could never preponderate by its numerical force. This writer, too, does not consider a representative council sufficiently democratic, although formed in so large proportion to the total amount of inhabitants, and it would seem that he confines that form of government to the natural, (literal,) signification of the word. In that point of view, it is undoubtedly true that the Republic of San Marino is not a pure democracy, if the perfection of that form is only to be found in popular assemblies, consisting of the *entire* community. Still less can we allow this author his comparison with Sparta and ancient Rome, as he has fancied in these, as well as in our Republic, a mixture of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy, as are also in America, the states of Massachusetts, New-York, and Maryland. We must however renounce all our received ideas of monarchy, if our consuls or captains are to be considered as representing the figure of monarchs; and such personages would perhaps abandon their thrones, if trammelled with laws such as bind our chief magistrates. Every one knows, also, that an aristocratic body is characterized by number, condition, and privileges; nothing of this kind exists in Titano; the number of representatives of the people is of so great relative proportion to the whole mass of the population, that seventy, (sixty now,) might be thought excessive, when we consider the uncommon conditions imperatively required by the dignity of the office. Where, then, the nobles form but a small fraction of the whole, and in the council are possessed of no prerogative whatever, and where, as we have said, the greater number consists of well-educated citizens and honourable country members, there is nothing that savours of aristocracy. Lastly, as the office of counsellor is not hereditary, nor invested with any privilege, it is in like manner divested of the other condition by which this Republic might be regarded as participating in, or resembling the worst republican form:—had it been so, these illustrious writers had not noticed the Republic so favourably as they have done for its great morality:—giving credit to what Adams states in the following passage.—‘*This people enjoy a great reputation for probity, and are strict regarders of justice; they seem to live more happily in the midst of rocks and snows, than all the other nations of Italy in the fairest valleys in the world; what stronger justification of that love which all men naturally feel for liberty and aversion to arbitrary power, than to behold on one side a barren, savage mountain, covered with people, and on the other the lovely Campagna di Roma, deserted by its inhabit-*

ants.' Now this observation will suffice to prove the excellence of that constitution, which more than any thing else produces the happy results which the author refers to.'

"The truly just and philosophical observation of our American civilian, and the very indisputable corollary drawn from it by the Italian historian, seem to be the most proper termination of this long extract. The existence of *nobility* in the Republic, which led to the error of Mr. Adams, must indeed at first view present itself to every observer as a shocking anomaly; but he concluded on a crude fact, as stated by Addison, on whose superficial narration he had not otherwise much reliance;—had he employed his own powerful intellect to the investigation of the subject, his criticism had doubtless been more just. I have before observed, that the '*nobility*' of San Marino was perfectly innocuous; you see also by the foregoing extract that it had not even numerical importance: but it unavoidably formed a greater or less portion of the population, for the Republic was first settled by emigrants from the bordering countries; some few of these brought their *nobility* with them. In later periods others of the same rank were naturalized. This nobility of family was so common in all the states which surrounded the Republic, as to be scarcely acknowledged to be an honourable distinction; it rarely carried with it political power, even where it was a social privilege;—it had probably little of either in those who sought the 'equality' of San Marino. Be that as it may, whatever distinction such individuals brought with them, was merged, on their naturalization, in the more honourable character of *citizen*. The ancient republics of Italy, till they were ingulfed by the all-devouring power of Rome, were like the ancient republics of Greece; free from nobility, because they were composed of natural elements;—they had not other inequalities amongst their citizens than those which nature decrees: but, on the recomposition of the Italian republics, after eleven centuries of servitude, the materials of the social union were necessarily taken with the qualities which they then possessed.—

"At that epoch, (says the historian,) the component parts of the social body had already assumed new forms of existence and character, which had in a degree become the property of their possessors;—under these circumstances the Italians did not make liberty and equality a bed of Procrustes; they did not assail the property of any, except as a punishment; and without destroying the character of *nobility*, so called, they restrained its abuses, and rendered it harmless to the state. They saw that if property created an attachment to the state, education and instruction must make good citizens, when political prejudices were banished. Hence democratic or popular codes are found in Italy, wherein the denomination of *nobles* is preserved, even in distinct ranks, without any embarrassment or prejudice to the popular constitution being thereby occasioned: and passing by others less important, I will only cite that of the Florentine republic, which, upon the establishment of a democratic constitution, under the government of the *Priori delle arti*, (Priors of the arts,) did not seek to exclude the nobles, or to compose it wholly of simple citizens; for, (in the words of



Aretino,) the law only excluded the idle, but did not however prohibit nobles from being of the arts."

"I am persuaded that you will find this brief account of San Marino not without interest, and you will probably agree with me, that the still happy condition of a people, amongst whom there is neither oppression, nor poverty, nor ignorance, affords the most conclusive proof, that a system of government founded on moral principles, on justice and equality of rights and duties, may have a duration proportionate to the purity of its elements. The isolated position of the republic, partly, but principally its being without means of enriching itself by foreign commerce, still preserve it from the sophistication of foreign vices, and the inroad of foreign luxuries to corrupt the sources of its prosperity:—thus is assured the utmost permanence of which human institutions are susceptible, to a model of political association as perfect as the nature of man is capable of enjoying."

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ART. X.—*Lafayette en Amérique en 1824 et 1825, ou Journal d'un Voyage aux Etats-Unis*; par A. LEVASSEUR, Secrétaire du Général Lafayette pendant son Voyage. Orné de onze Gravures et d'une Carte. 2 tom: Paris: 1829.

*Lafayette in America in 1824 and 1825; or Journal of a Tour in the United States.* By A. LEVASSEUR, Secretary of General Lafayette during his Tour. Ornamented with eleven Engravings and a Map. 2 vols. Paris: 1829.

THIS contribution to the history of the times, though somewhat tardy, must be eminently acceptable to all liberal minds throughout the world, and in the highest degree to the people of these United States. It comes with a better grace and stronger effect, from the other side of the Atlantic—from an intelligent foreigner, an eye-witness of all that he narrates—than it would possess if it proceeded from an American pen. M. Levasseur accounts for the lateness of the publication, by the circumstances, that he continued to act as secretary of General Lafayette for three years after their return to France, and that delicacy forbade him, while he remained in that capacity, to send forth a work of which the General is the hero, as it were from his own desk. The secretary declares himself to be alone responsible for the opinions and statements contained in these two volumes; he describes only what he saw, and he appeals to many millions of people as his vouchers. His notes were taken in the

midst of the extraordinary scenes of which he was the astonished spectator during fourteen months; he has contented himself with merely dividing them into a certain number of chapters, and omitting the greater part of the dates, which the chronological order of the chapters rendered unnecessary. The whole bears an unquestionable stamp of authenticity and sincerity.

This book is the record of the most remarkable journey that was ever performed;—it constitutes a portion of human annals, singularly curious, and wholly unique. The people, and the man, to whom it refers, stood in the most interesting of all relations; they acquitted themselves in their meeting in a manner truly admirable; with a mutual sensibility, delicacy, and judgment, exquisitely consentaneous to the nature of their respective claims, and of the occasion. Here was, indeed, “a grand chorus of national harmony;” a voluntary national jubilee; in which more tears of genuine, patriotic enthusiasm and gratitude were shed, than had ever fallen in the same space of time. All common selfishness—all minor passions—seemed lost in the diffusive fervour. One of the orators of the period justly styled it the poetry of history—What a spectacle indeed, that of a nation of twelve millions, spread over an immense surface, at once universally excited, and kept in eager motion during many months, by the visit of a stranger, a benefactor of half a century before, bearing to them only his affectionate recollections and wishes, and a spotless character! Hundreds of thousands assembling night and day, with festivals and pageants, at the highest pitch of general animation, in every state of the twenty-four of a vast empire, yet committing no excess, unless their various homage to their *guest*—the idolatry of their welcome—could be so deemed; manifesting an almost universal propriety of sentiment and demeanour; every where a manly, tender, and refined feeling; an anxious, fond, but chastened curiosity; and much that was grand, elegant, or ingenious, in their devices of love and reverence.

Such proceedings and effects imply not only a deep sense, on their side, of the value of their national independence and republican institutions, but peculiar and signal merits in the life, dispositions, and demeanour of the stranger. In fact, he was, and is, the most wonderful person of the age, considering his original share in our revolution, the part which he acted in that of France, the treatment which he experienced from her enemies,—all that he suffered in the Austrian dungeons, all that he has survived, all that he has seen and done, and all that he may yet execute. To keep the original enthusiasm in his favour intensely alive during more than a twelvemonth—until the last moment of his presence—required a felicity of manner and temper not less enviable than rare; to answer, as he uniformly did, with the utmost readiness and success, all the addresses and turns of com-

pliment and salutation, was a mental exploit only equalled by the triumph of his bodily constitution over the incredible fatigues of every kind through which he passed in his magnificent *progress* of several thousand miles. Good humour, excellent breeding, sense, tact, calm energy, minute recollection, just and strong emotion, the desire and the ability to please every individual, distinguished him in every situation. Consistency in whatever is noble, philanthropic, truly elevated and amiable, forms the beautiful master-trait in this "enthusiast of principle," who exchanged courtesies and sympathies with the whole American people, under circumstances which were never before combined, and which probably will never recur. The account which Mde. de Stael had given of him before this juncture of his career, was strictly true, and can still be repeated with full reliance—"Since his first visit to America, we cannot quote a single action of Lafayette which is not direct and consistent, *and his confidence in the final triumph of liberty is the same as that of a pious man in a future life.*" A considerable part of the occurrences upon which M. Levasseur dwells, must be yet fresh in the memory of Americans; but most of them, nevertheless, might be noticed in our pages at present, without inducing satiety. We ourselves have dwelt on them anew with delight and pride, and we are not ashamed, or guilty of the least affectation in confessing—with suffused eyes and throbbing heart.

From the character of the services which Lafayette had rendered to this country, the mutual interest and affectionate commerce which invariably subsisted between him and its most prominent citizens, and the tenor of the solemn invitation which was transmitted to him from Congress and President Monroe, he had reason to expect a cordial and brilliant reception; but, however sanguine he may have been,—whatever visions of glory may have "beamed on his sight,"—he could not have imagined an acclaim so loud, so joyous, so expansive, so enduring; a spirit of tender veneration, so active, so inventive, so emulous, so pure. Unrivalled prosperity; perfect security; sure anticipations of a vast increase of wealth, power, comfort, and fame; had not altered the American heart towards the patron of the despised colonies in their arduous struggle; yet those considerations, though frequent reference was made to them, cannot be said to have materially influenced the conduct of the old or the new generations, who rivalled each other in testifying their gratitude and regard. These sentiments seemed to have no connexion with any species of egotism; they related to the original alliance of the Revolution, apart from the inestimable results of the independence and republican freedom which he essentially helped to establish; and to his personal deserts and

elevation in his general history and character: and the allusions to the blessings and hopes which individuate our situation, should be chiefly ascribed to the desire of rendering the Guest sensible of the irresistible force of his title to every form of profound acknowledgment. We doubt whether a single one of the millions of votaries entertained the impression that the favour was in any one instance—(not excepting the pecuniary grant)—on the side of the Guest; all thought and acted as if the obligation and the benefit were wholly with the hosts.

Lafayette embarked on the 13th July 1824, in the packet ship *Cadmus*, for New-York, having declined the offer of the American President to send a frigate to convey him to our shores. He was as well situated in the excellent vessel which he selected, as he could have been in any other, and had a prosperous passage, with no event worth noting, except the unexpected visit at sea, of some British officers, who boarded the *Cadmus* with a cavalier air, but quickly altered their mien and tone, when they learned who was the principal passenger. M. Levasseur describes, as follows, the scene of the *Guest's* arrival.

"Our voyage was continued without any event of importance, until the 14th, when we descried land. The next morning, at day-break, the pilot came on board, and in a few hours we could easily distinguish the fresh verdure which adorns Staten-island, the charming white dwellings which enlivened it, and the movements of its inhabitants, which the expectation of some great event had caused in all haste to run down to the shore. Already the sea around us was covered with a multitude of long, light, and narrow boats, managed by vigorous, active, men, the neatness of whose dress, and the propriety of whose language, contrasted singularly with the ideas which in Europe are generally associated with the sight of mere sailors. As soon as one of these boats arrived near the ship, her course was slackened; those on board cast anxious looks towards our deck, inquiring of our sailors if Lafayette were among us; as soon as answered in the affirmative, joy was expressed in all their features; they turned quickly to each other, shaking hands, and congratulating themselves on the happiness they were about to enjoy; then returning towards the vessel, they asked a thousand questions relative to the general's health, how he had borne the voyage, &c., but without noise or disorderly impatience. We heard them rejoicing among themselves that Lafayette's voyage had been pleasant and quick, that his health was good, and that the wishes of their fellow-citizens were about to be gratified; and all as if they had been the children of one family, rejoicing at the return of a much-loved and long-expected parent. While contemplating this novel and interesting scene, the thundering of cannon called my attention in another direction; this was from the artillery of Fort Lafayette, which announced the arrival of the *Cadmus* to the city of New-York. At the same moment a steam-boat arrived, and we received on board a deputation, at the head of which was Mr. Tompkins, son of the Vice-President of the United States. He came to inform the general, that this being Sunday, the city of New-York, which wished to give him a brilliant reception, but was unwilling to break the Sabbath, and which moreover had still some preparations to make, requested him to postpone his entry until the next day; in the mean time the Vice-President invited him to his house on Staten-island. The general accepted this invitation, and in a few minutes afterward, we were on shore, where we found the second officer of a great republic, on foot, without his coat, and his head covered with a military cap, cordially greeting his old friend, who on the morrow was to



commence, amidst twelve millions of freemen, the most brilliant, and, at the same time, the purest of triumphs."

The procession of steam-vessels escorting the *Cadmus* in triumph; the magnificent port of New-York covered with decorated boats; the shouts of *welcome Lafayette* from more than a hundred thousand spectators; the peal of the many cannon and the martial music, heard alternately; might well strike the visitors with admiration and surprise too lively to be adequately expressed. Of what occurred at New-York we need not write in any detail; of the feasts, the addresses, the public audiences. The report of the first proceedings spread to the extremities of the Union, and only satisfied the expectations and feelings of the whole population. No sentiment was displayed there, which was not subsequently shown every where else in every practicable form of honour and delight. "Mothers surrounded the Guest presenting their children, and asking his blessing, which having obtained, they embraced their offspring with renewed tenderness." There was no affectation in this conduct; in fact, neither the touch nor the benediction of any holy seer was ever sought with more confident and tender piety; and the trait exemplifies that patriotic sensibility with which Lafayette was generally received. M. Levasseur descends into a variety of particulars concerning the city and state of New-York. Excepting the City Hall, there is not, in his opinion, a single public monument or edifice worthy of the attention of an artist. It happened to him, as to the renowned Captain Hall, that he had early an opportunity of witnessing the activity of the firemen, and the idle curiosity and good order of thousands of spectators, at a fine conflagration on one of the wharves of the East river.

From New-York, on the 20th August, the General repaired to Boston, passing on the route through immense crowds, that consisted chiefly of persons who came from considerable distances, and watched his approach, during the night as well as day.

"Every village," says the Secretary, "had its triumphal arch, upon which were almost always inscribed the names of Washington and Lafayette, or the dates of the battles of Brandywine and Yorktown. Every where announced by the sound of cannon, every where received and complimented by the magistrates of the people, and every where obliged to alight to receive the testimonials of the love of the entire population, it was not until after five days, and almost five nights, that the general arrived at Boston, which is but two hundred miles from New-York; I say almost five nights, because we constantly travelled until near midnight, and set out again at five o'clock in the morning. However, amid these moving and sublime displays of the gratefulness of a whole people, we did not dream of fatigue; even our night marches had a charm which caused us to be forgetful of it. The long file of carriages, escorted by horsemen bearing torches; the fires lighted from place to place upon the tops of the hills, and around which were grouped families, whom the desire of beholding their guest had kept watching; the somewhat wild sound of the trumpet of our escort, repeated several times by the woodland echoes, the sight of the sea which occa-

sionally came into view on our right, and the distant and decreasing peal of the bells which had announced our passage, all formed around us a picturesque and enchanting scene, worthy of the pen of Cooper."

It was at two o'clock in the morning that they arrived at the village of Roxbury, within two miles of Boston, and only two hours of repose could be obtained before the inhabitants of the northern capital were all in motion to begin a succession of festivals and addresses like those of New-York. Our author has omitted no principal circumstance. His narrative of the visit to the venerable John Adams, brings that deceased patriot to memory in an affecting shape.

"Our carriages stopped at the door of a very simple, small house, built of wood and brick, and but one story high. I was somewhat astonished to learn that this was the residence of an Ex-President of the United States. We found the venerable John Adams in the midst of his family. He received and welcomed us with touching kindness: the sight of his ancient friend imparted a pleasure and satisfaction, which appeared to renew his youth. During the whole of dinner time, he kept up the conversation with an ease and readiness of memory, which made us forget his eighty-nine years."

"At the moment of our visit, although he could not go out of his chamber, could scarcely raise himself from his chair, and his hands were unable to convey the food to his mouth, without the pious assistance of his children or grandchildren, his heart and head felt not less ardour for every thing good. The affairs of his country afforded him the most pleasant occupation. He frequently repeated the greatness of the joy which he derived from the gratitude of his fellow-citizens towards Lafayette. We left him, filled with admiration at the courage with which he supported the pains and infirmities which the lapse of nearly a century had necessarily accumulated upon him."

Military reviews were of course exhibited to Lafayette wherever they could be compassed. Those of Boston furnished as good a specimen, perhaps, as the country afforded;—"the promptitude of the charges, the union and vivacity of the firing, the rapidity and intelligence of the evolutions, and the variety of uniforms," are remarked by M. Levasseur, while he utters a gentle stricture on the want of calmness and precision in the movements of the line, and on the *finery* of the volunteer companies. At Bunker's Hill, he had occasion to note instances of "the care with which the Americans preserve and revere all the monuments of their revolution." If the remains of Washington can be classed with "the precious relics," and may be considered as subject properly to the care of the nation, then did the illustrious favourite of the Father of his country find at Mount Vernon an example of neglect sufficient to counterbalance the panegyric of the Secretary. The nation is responsible for the apathy or delays of Congress;—bound as that body is, not only by original duty, but a special engagement.

Lafayette was entertained on the field of the battle of Lexington, and heard there anew an animated recital of the affair from two survivors of the combatants. The first musket that answered the guns of the British, was put into his hands by a son of the

yeoman who fired it. At Concord, on his way to Portsmouth, New-Hampshire, beautiful girls, crowned with flowers, served gracefully at the sumptuous table which was prepared for him under a splendid tent in the public square; and from the tent M. Levasseur descried at the end of the square, on an eminence, a collection of tombs, near one of which knelt a female and two children clad in deep mourning, and pouring out "the abundant dolour of the heart." The contrast was forcible and pathetic between the reckless jollity and bright colours of the repast, and the view of the gray stones, mementos of mortality, watered with the tears of absorbing grief, at the very hour of the general ferment of exultation. To the bereaved wife, mother, or sister, and the orphan children, in the freshness of their privation and sorrow, the sounds of gladness and the holyday show in the square, were probably as indifferent as the aspect of their misery to the bustlers in the centre. Torrents of rain frequently fell during this part of Lafayette's journey, but the people came forth, nevertheless, universally, and remained about him as if wholly insensible to the weather. "The citizens of Salem, for example, galloped in a storm, along side of his carriage, for nearly nine miles, at the risk of falling at every step, so bad were the roads;" and when he entered Newburyport late at night, "the brilliancy of the illuminations, the fires lighted in the streets, the uninterrupted noise of cannon and bells, the shouts of the people, and the sight of a multitude of troops advancing rapidly to the sound of the drum, might have led him to suppose that he was entering a town taken by storm, and consigned to the flames, if the words Lafayette, Liberty, Country, Washington, which incessantly broke upon his ears, had not reminded him that he was present at a truly popular festival." We select these traits, because they were common, and exemplify the excitement throughout the Union. All ordinary caution as to exposure, regularity of rest, and calculation of time and money, were forgotten wherever the Guest appeared.

The chamber given to him at Newburyport, was one in which Washington had slept thirty years before, and of which the furniture had been religiously preserved. At Portsmouth, the Committee of Arrangement conducted to him a number of Canadian Indians, who at first awakened a keen curiosity in M. Levasseur, but whose appearance and manners greatly disappointed his imagination and distressed his humanity. They were, indeed, Christian converts, but they talked as if they had only changed superstitions, and appeared to have rather contracted the vices, than reaped the benefits of civilization. Is it pitiable to behold these poor wretches, singing through the nose psalms, and performing a worship, which they evidently do not com-



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prehend. Philanthropy itself might regret, in this metamorphosis, "the noble savage" running wild in the woods.

At Hartford, on the return to New-York, old General Wadsworth entered the audience-hall, bearing the epaulets and scarf which Lafayette wore at the battle of Brandywine, where he was wounded. The scarf still retained marks of his blood. These relics were given to General Swift after the peace, and had been carefully saved. On the second appearance of the Guest, at New-York, the demonstrations of popular regard were equally cordial and splendid. Gazers filled the streets as he passed through them: in the theatres, when he was present, the drama could not proceed, the clamour of enthusiasm being incessant. The nocturnal festival at the Castle-Garden, with an amphitheatre containing nearly six thousand persons, illuminated by a thousand flambeaux, and with "a pure and brilliant moon" shining on the harbour on which a thousand boats were moving to and fro—astonished and transported men familiar with the most gorgeous exhibitions practicable in Europe. One little incident of the gala conveys so much, that we must venture to repeat it. "Several times during the evening, dances were attempted, but every time the General moved a step to approach them, the dancers broke off, and came to group themselves around him." At two o'clock in the morning, the Guest left this combination of enchantments, to embark on board a steam-boat ascending the North river. M. Levasseur sufficiently expresses, in a few words, the nature of the transition. "Bientôt nous eûmes perdu de vue Castle-Garden, et au lieu des joyeux sons de la musique, nous n'entendîmes plus que le bruit monotone et cadencé de notre machine à vapeur luttant contre la rapidité des flots de l'Hudson." Along the banks of the noble and picturesque Hudson, and in the beautiful and thriving cities—new creations like those of magic—which adorn and complete the prospect, the Guest was hailed by masses of inhabitants, glowing with impatient curiosity and reverence, and prepared with devices of honour such as he had experienced in New-England. If in any part of the old thirteen states, the difference as to culture and population, between what he witnessed at the era of the revolution, and the condition of things in 1824, could powerfully move him, the line of the North river must have especially produced this effect. "At Troy," says M. Levasseur "Lafayette exclaimed—What! has this town sprung from the earth by a magical spell!" "No," answered some one near him, "but it was raised and peopled in a few years, by intelligent industry, under the protection of freedom;"—the plain solution of all those rapid and glorious *improvements*, which have no parallel in any other region than republican America. At Troy, Lafayette was conducted, without any male attendant, into the interior

of the accomplished Mrs. Willard's excellent academy for young ladies, and "he returned," observes his secretary, "exhibiting profound emotion,"—*ses yeux etaient remplis de douces larmes*. The harmonious and tender salutations of two hundred delicate young girls, all clothed in white, account for this emotion.

The eighth chapter of the first volume, consists of a description of the institutions and manners of the city of New-York. M. Levasseur animadverts with just regret, though without asperity, upon the abuse of spirituous liquors, the multitude of *lottery-offices*, the numerous bankruptcies, and other public evils, to which no foreign observer, however friendly, could shut his eyes. With regard to the *luxury*, of which some members of the old school of regimen complain, he holds the language of a true philosopher.—"Such persons might with reason be frightened, if luxury here, like that of our princes and courtiers in Europe, sprung from the oppression and sweat of the people; but they may comfort themselves by reflecting, that it is the offspring of industry, the rich and fruitful daughter of Liberty." He tells a pleasant story of a French officer, who concealed himself for some days in New-York, because he had not brought a passport with him from France; and who could, with difficulty, be led to believe that the American police did not require documents of the kind, and that every man might travel in any direction, and reside where he pleased, without being subject to espionage or inquiry. For the edification of our female readers, we shall copy our author's two paragraphs respecting the New-York ladies:—

"The ladies here dress in the French taste, but their manners are still entirely American; that is, they devote almost their whole existence to the management of the household, and the education of their children. They generally live much retired, and although many of them possess very agreeable and excellent powers of conversation, they do not, however, occupy much attention in society, where the young ladies appear to have the exclusive right of reigning. These latter, it is true, have from nature and education, all the means of pleasing. The unlimited liberty they enjoy, without ever abusing it, gives a grace and frankness to their manners, and a modest ease, which is sought in vain in our companies, where, under the name of reserve, the most painful insignificance is imposed upon our young ladies.

"The American ladies are not more remarkable for their severe conjugal fidelity, than the girls are for their constancy to their *engagements*. At parties, I have often had pointed out to me, young ladies of eighteen or nineteen, who had been *engaged*, and of whose future husbands, one was in Europe pursuing his studies; another in China, attending to commercial business; and a third, dangerously employed in the whale fishery, in the most distant seas. Young girls thus *engaged*, hold the middle place in society, between their still disengaged companions and the married ladies. They have already lost some of the thoughtless gaiety of the former, and assumed a slight tinge of the gravity of the other. The numerous aspirants, designated here by the name of *beaux*, who at first surrounded them, and were received until a choice was made, still bestow upon them delicate attentions, but by no means so particular as formerly, and should one of them, either from ignorance or obstinate hopes, persist in offering his heart and hand, the answer 'I am engaged,' given with a



sweet frankness and an indulgent smile, soon destroys all his illusions, without wounding his pride. Engagements of this sort, preceding marriage, are very common, not only in New-York, but throughout the United States; and it is exceedingly rare that they are not fulfilled with religious fidelity. Public opinion is very severe on this point, and does not spare either of the two parties which may dispose of themselves without the consent of the other."

On the 23d September, the Guest again departed from New-York, destined to the south and west. His path through New-Jersey was of roses and light. At Bergen, a deputation tendered to him a golden headed cane, made of the branch of an apple tree, under which he had breakfasted with Washington during the revolutionary war. The minuteness of Lafayette's recollections of revolutionary events and persons, often surprised those who approached him in the course of this tour; but he had as much reason to wonder on his side, for it seemed as if nothing whatever that happened to him, or that he did or said in the whole of the same period, in any part of our soil which he trod, was forgotten, at least where it occurred. He encountered in almost every district, veteran soldiers, who reminded him of transactions, casualties, fellowships, phrases, of which all impression had been long effaced from his own mind. That part of M. Levasseur's text, in which the dinner at Bordentown, at the elegant and hospitable mansion of Joseph Bonaparte, Count de Surveilliers, is related, has been repeated in the newspapers so widely, that we notice it only to rectify an idea of our author, that the count had not the air of being happy, "notwithstanding the lively respect of his American acquaintance, the love of his family, and his affluence." It is possible that the presence of Lafayette, and the topics of their conversation, awakened in Joseph thoughts and feelings which imparted to his countenance and carriage an unusual degree of gravity, or a cast of sadness; but it is certain, that in general his manner is distinguished by bland cheerfulness, invariable equanimity, and the easiest command over his power of attention. He appears to have reconciled himself entirely to his present situation, and he discourses at least, upon the value of mere royal grandeur, and the vicissitudes of fortune, in a strain which the most rational and impartial of critics in human affairs would not disavow.

Philadelphia proved to Lafayette, that she was not secondary, either in inclination or ability, to minister to the occasion of his visit. The military and civic escort with which he entered that city in the forenoon, and the illumination in the evening, must long shine in the memory of every spectator. In four of the large vehicles of the procession, were distributed forty old soldiers of the Revolution, whose tears of ecstasy opened "the sacred source" in thousands of eyes. M. Levasseur does justice to the splendid and fond efforts of hospitality in that beautiful capital; to the variety of elevated and liberal sentiments, and felici-



tous compliments conveyed in her addresses; to the excellence of her foundations of charity and science; and to the order, security, industry, and comfort, which obtain in every quarter. He adverts to Lafayette's dissatisfaction with the plan of solitary confinement for criminals, and narrates the discussion of that question, into which he fell when surveying the new penitentiary:—

"This superb establishment was still unfinished, when General Lafayette, accompanied by the committee appointed to do the honours of the city, went to visit it, and were received by the respectable directors and managers, who explained to him the improvements made. One must have courage to venture upon contradicting men so virtuous and experienced, as generous in design as in the execution of their benevolent works. The frankness and conviction of the general, overcame his repugnance, and with all the regard and respect which were due, and which his personal situation rendered still more necessary, he represented to them that solitary confinement was a punishment which should be experienced to be rightly appreciated; and that the virtuous and enlightened Malesherbes, who during his administration under the monarchical government of France, had ameliorated the condition of prisoners of state, regarded solitary confinement as leading to madness. The general observed, that during his five years' captivity, he had passed an entire year in solitary confinement, and another part of the time seeing a companion but during a single hour; and he added, smiling, that he had not found it to be the means of reformation, since he was imprisoned for wishing to revolutionize the people against despotism and aristocracy, and passed his solitude in thinking upon it, without coming out corrected in that respect."

We acknowledge the truth and pleasantry of this remark; but, without meaning to argue the important question, we must suggest that the case of Lafayette in his imprisonment differs in every moral particular too widely to be admitted as example or analogy. His sufferings could not fail to bias his judgment.

On his way to Baltimore, he found the secretary of state, John Q. Adams, in the steam-boat of the Chesapeake bay. The committee of arrangement had prepared a separate chamber for the Guest and his two companions. The latter discovered, when the hour of repose came, that Mr. Adams was about to stretch himself on a mattress on the floor of the great cabin, which was covered with similar pallets for the other passengers. The son of Lafayette and M. Levasseur entreated the secretary of state to exchange beds with one of them, and sleep in the separate chamber. Mr. Adams refused, answering, that even if he felt disposed to accept the offer, he should still be obliged to decline it, because the committee of arrangement had determined that no one should be admitted into General Lafayette's apartment except his travelling companions. The General himself added his entreaties, and caused a request to be made to the committee, that Mr. Adams should be admitted instead of his son, or M. Levasseur. The committee rejected, as inadmissible, the plan of a substitution, but consented that a fourth bed should be prepared in Lafayette's chamber for Mr. Adams, "not because he was secretary of state,

but because General Lafayette desired to have one of his old friends near him ;" nor did the secretary agree to relinquish his mattress until the committee formally invited him to pass into the chamber. Our author's comment on this anecdote is—that if there be any aristocracy in American manners, the high officers of the government partake of no such privilege. It happened to one of our acquaintance, to be in the steam-boat that plies between New-York and New-Brunswick, along with Mr. Adams, when the latter was President of the United States. The President sat, undistinguished, at the foot of the breakfast table, eating with keen appetite of the good things common to all. At the other end was an English colonel, contending with our friend, as M. Levasseur says many European travellers do—that "the Americans, in spite of their republican institutions, are essentially aristocratic in their habits." "What person do you suppose that to be, down next the captain," said a neighbour to the colonel. "I don't know," replied the other, "he is like the rest, and seems to be making a pretty hearty meal." "But I can tell you," continued the questioner—"that's the President of the United States—go and talk to him after he has done." The officer, who had landed only five days before at New York, looked confounded, rose, and went near to the President's chair, with a countenance of mingled surprise and curiosity, which amused his first auditors ; and he felt still less inclined to insist on American aristocracy, after he learned that the captain himself was unaware of the presence of Mr. Adams. No officer of our government hesitates to use the public vehicles in travelling ;—none claims the least privilege or mark of distinction ;—all associate, in every situation, with their fellow-citizens, upon a footing of equality. A first visit, or precedence in going to a dinner table, may be expected and accorded at Washington, but in this there is very little of the real spirit of aristocracy or etiquette.

We should pronounce Baltimore to be the favourite city of M. Levasseur, judging from "the hues and colours of his diction" in the eleventh chapter. He has caught the very fire and unction of that soul and grace which pervaded her reception of Lafayette. He celebrates her superior taste for music, the *agrémens* with which she abounds, and the martial courage of the inhabitants ; and only regrets that the Sunday is a little dull there, as in other parts of our country, and that negro slavery still survives, to her manifest disadvantage. We must pilfer a part of his tribute to Baltimore.

"Every instant of our stay in Baltimore was marked by the most brilliant festivals, and the most delicate attentions. It is difficult to give a just idea of the elegance and delicacy of manners of the inhabitants of this city, in which we find the amiable union of American frankness and French ease. The ball given by the city was every thing that was perfect of the kind ; it was prepared in the theatre, and disposed with inimitable taste. All the boxes were occupied by la-

dies, and the carpet was entirely vacant. We were introduced from the stage, only accompanied by some members of the committee. At the moment the general appeared, he was announced by an invisible music, which played Lafayette's march, and the gas blazing abundantly from numerous pipes, and throwing floods of dazzling light over the hall, discovered to our delighted eyes the most ravishing picture I ever beheld. The splendour of a parterre covered with the most beautiful flowers, would have looked pale along side of this crowd of beautiful ladies, waving their handkerchiefs, scattering flowers, and expressing, by their sweet tears, the happiness they experienced in beholding the Nation's Guest. In an instant they abandoned their places, advanced to the middle of the hall, and surrounded the General, who remained for some moments incapable of expressing his gratefulness, so much was he affected. The dancing soon after commenced, and gave us an opportunity of admiring more in detail the graces and beauty of the ladies of Maryland."

In proceeding to Washington, Lafayette's escort refused to allow him to stop at an inn which bears the name of *Waterloo*. When consulted on the subject, he replied, that he would willingly go on, but that he feared to fatigue his numerous retinue of Baltimoreans; they declared, "that they would rather founde their horses than that he should remain in a house whose name might awaken disagreeable recollections in the mind of a *Frenchman*." We need not repeat with what cordiality, what "ceremonious kindness," the General was welcomed by President Monroe, who would have lodged him in his official mansion, if the municipal authorities had not claimed the privilege of providing for his accommodation. We pretermit, as familiar, or devoid of novelty, the narratives of the sojourn in the metropolis, the pilgrimage to Mount Vernon, and the excursion to Yorktown. M. Levasseur was somewhat alarmed and scandalized, when he visited the college at Georgetown, on discovering that it had been founded and was partly administered by *Jesuits*. However, Mr. Cambreling, of New York, whom he saw in the evening, convinced him that his apprehensions for our liberties, from the existence of that order in our republic, were utterly groundless.— "Take our institutions, in France," said another American, "and your Jesuits will be as harmless as ours." They are so, already; but the name is a convenient tocsin: there are in every country classes of lay intriguers and plotters, much more formidable than the small remnant of the professed disciples of Loyola.

We find our travellers, on the 22d October, at Norfolk, which the secretary does not represent as a paradise, but which was not deficient in exertions to render them supremely happy. They repaired to Monticello, the residence of Mr. Jefferson, in whose manners and intellect they recognised all the various merit which had been extolled to them by his friends. With Mr. Madison, likewise, at Montpellier, they enjoyed the finest effusions of sense, erudition, and feeling, and the lambent play of one of the happiest of social tempers. These were ex-chief magistrates, with each of whom we could do what a king of France

boasted of in the case of an illustrious commander—present him to the friends or enemies of his country. M. Levasseur recurs here to the title *Marquis*, which the Virginians used so fondly during the revolutionary struggle—and mentions the difficulty which Lafayette's old comrades or coevals experienced in giving him any other. "I recollect," says our author, "that, at Philadelphia, an old lady, who had known him intimately during the Revolution, and probably imaged him to herself just as she had seen him then, pressed forward in the crowd, exclaiming, 'Let me pass, that I may behold again the good *young Marquis*.'"

In his two chapters on Virginia—the fourteenth and fifteenth, of volume first—M. Levasseur discusses, *in extenso*, the question of negro-slavery. His views are practical; he does not declaim with fury, but reasons with sobriety and discrimination. He affirms, that he, who traversed the twenty-four states of the Union, never encountered but one person, who seriously defended the *principle* of slavery, and that was a young man, full of ridiculous notions about Roman history and so forth. He traces the introduction and growth of the curse, ascribing them to the obstinate cupidity of the mother country. After revolving the various plans for the removal or amelioration of negro-bondage, he proceeds to argue thus:—

"Of all the plans yet presented, none has produced any very marked result; it is true that all are very difficult of execution; for, whatever certain European philanthropists may say, who would perhaps be very much embarrassed if placed in the situation of a Carolina or Georgia planter, the general and instantaneous enfranchisement of the slaves cannot be thought of, without exposing to the greatest evils, not only the whites, but the blacks also, who, on account of their extreme ignorance, see nothing better in liberty than the privilege of doing nothing, or of committing every excess. I may venture to affirm, that to four-fifths of the slaves in the United States, immediate liberation would be nothing but a condemnation to die of famine, after having destroyed every thing around them. Consequently, I believe, that under such circumstances, to withhold from these men the immediate exercise of their rights, is neither to violate these rights, nor to protect the violators of them, but is merely employing, in the mode of removing the evil, the prudence necessary to make the justice we wish to render them more surely a mean of happiness. Here prudence requires that the enfranchisement should be gradual."

Our author inferred, from the condition and discourse of Mr. Jefferson's negroes, that to attach the slaves generally to *the glebe*, would be a sensible benefit for them and their masters; and from the readiness and candour with which Mr. Madison and his friends, at Montpelier, joined with Lafayette in approaching and handling the whole question, he conceived that slavery would not exist much longer in Virginia, or would be auspiciously modified. Orator O'Connell would do well to consult M. Levasseur's pages, if he should not lay any stress on the statements and opinions of Captain Basil Hall.

As a grandee of the first class among the Free-Masons, Lafayette drew forth all the lodges of Richmond, and fraternized



with them at a magnificent banquet, of which the Governor of Virginia, Chief Justice Marshall, and other exalted personages, partook, as Masonic dignitaries. The secretary mentions that his brethren taught him to comprehend "the veneration and zeal which the Americans entertain for free-masonry." None of the parties imagined the possibility of such a crusade against the society, as has been waged since the abduction of Morgan. The anti-masonic warfare, in all its varieties of motive, weapon, stratagem, and drift, will constitute one of the most curious episodes in our domestic history.

From Virginia, the Nation's Guest returned to Washington, where he found messages from all the states of the South and West, soliciting the favour of his presence in each. Their representatives, collected in the metropolis for the meeting of Congress, renewed these instances with affectionate emphasis and flattering importunity. It was arranged that he should spend the winter in Washington; and early in the spring commence the tour which they desired. We must be content to refer to M. Levasseur's second volume for all the transactions between Congress, and the visiter whom it was the chief occupation of that assembly to honour and gratify. The mood and the will of the people were nobly represented by the whole government, and his correlative deportment was perfect. All his best qualities of heart and head, were put to trial by the munificent grant of money and land;—he excelled himself in the emergency. "Twenty-six of us," said a member of Congress to him, "voted against the grant from constitutional scruples." "Well," replied he, with a cordial squeeze of the other's hand, "if I had had the honour of being your colleague, we should have been twenty-seven,—not only because I hold the opinions which determined your vote, but because I think that the American nation has done a great deal too much for me."

The election of President, when Mr. Adams was chosen, took place while Lafayette was in Washington. M. Levasseur has not overlooked the previous violence of parties, the ominous predictions, and the fierce threats, which accompanied the canvass for the office. Nor has he forgotten, that, on the landing of Lafayette, the spirit of electioneering, with its merciless obloquy, paused under self-rebuke—that politicians and partisans who had stigmatized each other as the worst of citizens and men, suddenly felt that they were all republican Americans, worshipping at the same shrine, capable of the same sympathies, studious of the same national interests. Our author witnessed all the forms and circumstances of the election at Washington, which he relates, much edified by the legal order of the whole, and the loyal resignation of the unsuccessful side to the regular

result. We could not desire a more characteristic picture, or one more creditable to our institutions, than the following:—

“On the evening of the day in which the president had received a notification that his successor had been appointed, there was a large party at his house. I had already been present at these parties, which are very striking, from the numerous and various society there assembled, and by the amiable simplicity with which Mrs. Monroe and her daughters receive their guests. But, on this occasion, the crowd was so considerable that it was almost impossible to move. All the inhabitants of Washington were attracted by the desire of seeing the president elect and his competitors, who, it was taken for granted, would be present, and who, in fact, were so, with the exception of Mr. Crawford, who was detained at home by illness. After having made my bow to Mr. and Mrs. Monroe, to reach whom I found considerable difficulty, I looked with impatience for Mr. Adams and the other candidates. It appeared to me, that their being thus thrown together would prove extremely embarrassing to them, and I felt some curiosity to see how they would conduct themselves on the occasion. On entering one of the side rooms, I perceived Mr. Adams; he was alone, in the midst of a large circle which was formed around him. His countenance was as open and modest as usual. Every instant persons pressed through the crowd to offer him their congratulations, which he received without embarrassment, and replied to by a cordial shake of the hand. At some distance, in the midst of a group of ladies, was Mrs. Adams. She appeared to be radiant with joy; but it was easy to be seen that she was more pleased at the personal triumph of her husband, than for the advantages or pleasures that would result to herself. Whilst I was attentively looking at this interesting scene, a tumultuous movement was heard at the door, and a murmur of satisfaction arose from the whole party; I soon ascertained the cause, in seeing General Jackson make his appearance. Every one pressed forward to meet him, and endeavoured to be the first to salute him. To all these effusions of friendship he replied with frankness and cordiality. I alternately scrutinized both Mr. Adams and the general, being curious to see how these two men, who the morning before were rivals, would now meet. I was not kept long in expectation. The moment they perceived each other, they hastened to meet, taking each other cordially by the hand. The congratulations offered by General Jackson were open and sincere; Mr. Adams appeared to be deeply moved, and the numerous witnesses could not restrain the expression of their satisfaction. Mr. Clay arrived an instant afterwards, and the same scene was repeated. This, perhaps, produced less effect than the former, as Mr. Clay, having had fewer chances of success, was supposed to make less effort to maintain his self-command; but it fully demonstrated the wisdom of the nation in its selection of candidates. The generosity of character manifested by General Jackson, entirely satisfied me of the futility of the menaces of the Pennsylvania militia. Whilst these reflections were passing through my mind, I met in the crowd two officers with whom I had dined at York, and whom I had remarked particularly for their zeal and excitement. ‘Well,’ said I, ‘the great question is decided, and in a manner contrary to your hopes; what do you intend to do? How soon do you lay siege to the capitol?’ They began to laugh. ‘You recollect our threats, then,’ said one of them. ‘We went, in truth, great lengths, but our opponents disregarded it, and they acted properly; they know us better than we wished them to do. Now that is settled, all we have to do is to obey. We will support Adams as zealously as if he were our candidate; but, at the same time, shall keep a close watch on his administration, and according as it is good or bad, we will defend or attack it. Four years are soon passed, and the consequences of a bad election are easily obviated.’ ‘Yes,’ said I, ‘much more readily than that of legitimacy or hereditary succession.’”

The impatience of the southern and western states, did not allow the Guest to protract his stay at Washington beyond the 23d of February, on which day he embarked in the steam-boat for Norfolk. He had engaged to be at Boston by the 17th June,

for the celebration of the anniversary of the battle of Bunker's Hill, and in the interval was to measure a line of more than twelve hundred leagues, including wildernesses almost without roads. As a specimen of the feeling which he was to meet every where, we offer such an anecdote as this. —

"A few miles from Norfolk, we were obliged to stop some time before a small, solitary inn upon the road, for the purpose of refreshing our horses. We were sitting in our carriage when the landlord presented himself, asked to see the general, and eagerly pressed him to alight for a moment and come into his house. 'If,' said he, 'you have only five minutes to stay, do not refuse them, since to me they will be so many minutes of happiness.' The general yielded to his entreaty, and we followed him into a lower room, where we observed a plainness bordering on poverty, but a remarkable degree of cleanliness. *Welcome Lafayette*, was inscribed with charcoal upon the white wall, entwined with boughs from the fir trees of the neighbouring wood. Near the fire-place, where pine wood was crackling, stood a small table, covered with a very clean napkin, and covered with some decanters containing brandy and whiskey; by the side of a plate covered with glasses, was another plate filled with neatly arranged slices of bread. These modest refreshments were tendered with a kindness and cordiality which greatly enhanced their value. Whilst we were partaking of them, the landlord disappeared, but returned a moment after, accompanied by his wife, carrying her little boy, about three or four years of age, whose fresh and plump cheeks evinced the tenderness and care with which he had been cherished. The father, after first presenting his wife, next took his child in his arms, and, having placed one of his little hands in the hand of the general, made him repeat, with much emphasis, the following: 'General Lafayette, I thank you for the liberty which you have won for my father, for my mother, for myself, and for my country!!' While the child was speaking, the father and mother eyed the general with the most tender regard: their hearts responded to the words of their boy, and tears, they were unable to suppress, proved that their gratitude was vivid and profound. Were I to judge from what I myself felt on witnessing this simple and yet sublime scene, General Lafayette must have found this one of the most pleasing moments of his life. He could not conceal his emotions, but having tenderly embraced the child, took refuge in his carriage, bearing with him the blessings of this family, worthy of the freedom they enjoyed."

North Carolina paid her homage to the Guest with a spirit akin to that with which she entered into the Revolution. Her towns were illuminated, her streets crowded with females elegantly dressed, her officers of state and her orators on the alert; torrents of rain fell, however, and the roads were execrable. Notwithstanding all her resources of wealth and weal, she appeared to M. Levasseur "one of the least advanced of all the states he had visited;" and her backwardness he imputes to negro-slavery. The deputation of South Carolina received the General on the borders, in the midst of a pine forest, and convoyed him through Columbia, to Charleston, whose inhabitants were determined even to outdo the northern cities. Certainly they did not fall short in zeal, dignity, or refinement, nor leave upon the mind of our author an impression less vivid and grateful. We can convey but a faint idea of their generous strife, by the annexed quotation.

"In proportion as we advanced towards Charleston, the monotony of pine forests disappeared. Our eyes now rested with pleasure upon clusters of verdant and beautifully shaped saplings, among which superb magnolias were majestically elevated. The entrance to the city appeared to us like a delicious garden. The coolness of the night had condensed the perfumes from the orange, peach, and almond trees, covered with flowers, and embalmed the air. We stopped a few minutes to change the carriage, and allow the procession time to form; when, on a signal given by a cannon, we commenced our entrance into Charleston.

"The inhabitants of Charleston, as residents of the city which had received the young Lafayette on his first arrival on American ground, in 1776, were eager to prove that no where more than among themselves, had a stronger recollection of his devotion to the cause of liberty been preserved. Accordingly, the reception which they gave him, may be compared, for the splendour of its decorations and public enthusiasm, to the finest we had seen in the principal cities in the United States. The militia of Charleston were joined by the militia from the most distant parts of the state. Some companies of volunteer cavalry had, we were told, marched fifty miles a day to take the post assigned them by their patriotic gratitude.

"Among the various corps which left the city to meet the general, there was one which particularly attracted our attention. Its uniform was precisely similar to that worn by the national guard of Paris at the time of the French revolution. The language in which the men composing this corps sounded forth their *vivat*, when the general passed before them, showed us that they were Frenchmen, and we experienced a pleasing emotion on hearing our countrymen unite their voices with those of liberty and gratitude.

"The French company joined the procession, and, actuated by a sentiment of extreme delicacy, the Americans ceded to them the place of honour, near the carriage of the general. The procession was soon increased by a great number of parties, composed of the clergy, association of Cincinnati, veterans of the revolutionary army, students of the different faculties, officers of the United States' army and navy, judges of the different courts, children of the public schools, German, French, Jewish, and Hibernian beneficent societies, the association of mechanics, &c. &c. All these detachments were distinguished by the form, colour, and device of their flags; and the rest of the population following on foot and on horseback, made the air resound with cries of *Welcome, Lafayette*, which sounds, for nearly two hours, without intermission, were mingled with the thunder of cannon from the shipping in port, and the ringing of all the bells. But amidst all these expressions of public affection, that which penetrated the general's heart most, was the touching and generous plan adopted by the citizens of Charleston to share the honours of his triumph with his brave and excellent friend Colonel Huger."

At Charleston, on the 17th March, the travellers embarked for Savannah, in a fine steam-boat, sumptuously furnished and provisioned. While they coasted, they heard from the shores, throughout the night, shouts of gratulation from thousands of untiring worshippers;—sounds, which must have been to the heart of Lafayette as delicious as the Sabeian odours from "Araby the blest," which Milton invests with the power of making old Ocean smile, are to the eastern mariner. Savannah was alike prodigal of kindness, and in her best possible array. There the Guest embarked again in a steam-boat for Augusta, in the approach to which place, his safety would appear to have been a little neglected in the giddiness of extreme exhilaration. Two steam-boats, crowded with greeters, met the happy one, and in ascending the river, provoked a race. "There was something fright-



ful in this contest," says the Secretary; "the three roaring vessels seemed to fly in the midst of clouds of black smoke, which prevented us from seeing each other. The Alatomaha was victorious, which produced the liveliest joy in our worthy captain, who seemed to be a man that would blow up his vessel rather than be beaten on such an occasion." No doubt—and another, as we shall see, in the Ohio river, from an inordinate desire of *getting along*, with the Guest, actually wrecked him under the most dangerous and dismal circumstances. We cannot think that the object of success in the race, or a gain of some hours, would have been acknowledged by the country, as bearing any proportion to the evil of destroying Lafayette's life. Even a *ne times, Casarem vehis*, would not have formed a warrant for the imprudence of the racers. The party left Augusta in carriages, in which the peril was nearly as great as in the steamboat,—owing to the ruggedness of the roads. On the first day, the jolts were so violent, that the General experienced a fit of vomiting, which greatly alarmed his companions.

The sixth chapter of the second volume, brings the Guest into contact with the Creek Indians, in the territory on which they are encamped. Here, M. Levasseur's narrative is imbued with a romantic interest. It relieves, by novel and peculiar sensations and pictures, the degree of monotony which the similitude in the ingredients of the antecedent parts, might cause them to have for the European reader. The contagion of reverence, and the pride of display, had reached the tawny-sons of the forest. If we had space for the purpose, and could do it fairly in reference to the book, we would gladly copy the whole of this chapter, wherein the extraordinary unison of the Indians, with the voice of that republic, of which they are not allowed to be members, and their characteristic demonstrations of sympathy, are so described, that they rivet attention and awaken a crowd of reflections—melancholy, indeed, and little calculated for our self-complacency as of the race of civilized and Christian republicans.

"It was on the banks of the Chatahouche that we met with the first assemblage of Indians, in honour of the General. A great number of women and children were to be seen in the woods on the opposite bank, who uttered cries of joy on perceiving us. The warriors descended the side of a hill at a little distance, and hastened to that part of the shore at which we were to disembark. The variety and singular richness of their costumes, presented a most picturesque appearance. Mr. George Lafayette, who was the first that landed, was immediately surrounded by men, women, and children, who danced and leaped around him, touched his hands and clothes with an air of surprise and astonishment, that caused him almost as much embarrassment as pleasure. All at once, as if they wished to give their joy a grave and more solemn expression, they retired, and the men ranged themselves in front. He who appeared to be the chief of the tribe, gave, by an acute and prolonged cry, the signal for a kind of salute, which was repeated by the whole troop, which again advanced towards the shore. At the moment the General prepared to step on shore, some of the

most athletic seized the small carriage we had with us, and insisted that the General should seat himself in it, not willing, as they observed, that their father should step on the wet ground. The General was thus carried in a kind of palanquin a certain distance from the shore, when the Indian whom I have spoken of as the chief, approached him, and said in English, that all his brothers were happy in being visited by one who, in his affection for the inhabitants of America, had never made a distinction of blood or colour; and he was the honoured father of all the races of men dwelling on that continent. After the chief had finished his speech, the other Indians all advanced, and placed their right arm on that of the general, in token of friendship. They would not permit him to leave the carriage, but dragging it along, they slowly ascended the hill they had previously left, and on which one of their largest villages was situated."

"From Uchee creek to the cabin of Big Warrior, which is the nearest resting place, is about a day's journey, through a country inhabited by Indians. We several times met parties of them, and were greatly assisted by them in extricating ourselves from dangerous places in the road, for the storm had encumbered them, and swelled the streams. On one of these occasions, the general received a touching specimen of the veneration these sons of nature held him in. One of the torrents we were to cross had risen above the unnailed wooden bridge over which the carriage of the general was to proceed. What was our astonishment, on arriving at the stream, to find a score of Indians, who, holding each other by the hand, and breast deep in water, marked the situation of the bridge by a double line. We were well pleased at receiving this succour; and the only recompense demanded by the Indians, was to have the honour of taking the general by the hand, whom they called their white father, the envoy of the Great Spirit, the great warrior from France, who came in former days to free them from the tyranny of the English. M'Intosh, who interpreted their discourse to us, also expressed to them the general's and our own good wishes."

"One of the neighbouring chiefs came at the head of a deputation to compliment the general. His discourse, which appeared studied, was rather long, and was translated to us by an interpreter. He commenced by high eulogiums on the skill and courage the general had formerly displayed against the English; the most brilliant events of that war were recalled and recounted in a poetical and somewhat pompous strain. He terminated somewhat in these words: 'Father, we had long since heard that you had returned to visit our forests and our cabins; you, whom the Great Spirit formerly sent over the great lake to destroy those enemies of man, the English, clothed in bloody raiment. Even the youngest amongst us will say to their descendants, that they have touched your hand, and seen your figure; they will also behold you, for you are protected by the Great Spirit from the ravages of age—you may again defend us if we are attacked.'"

The picturesque scenery of the Creek district, attracted and refreshed the eye of M. Levasseur;—and as the tourists descended the Alabama, in a steam-boat "richly and commodiously prepared," with a band of musicians on board, they could almost believe themselves to be heroes of romance, contemplating the elevated and woody banks of the river, and listening to the echoes of the patriotic airs played by the band. The voyage of three hundred miles to Mobile, was accomplished in three days, and is called *delicious* by our author. After enjoying a public dinner, ball, and masonic festival, at Mobile, Lafayette embarked for New-Orleans in another steam-boat. In order to gain a day, the captain resolved to cross the Gulf of Mexico to the mouth of the Mississippi, pass the Balize, and ascend the river. Much did the travellers suffer from this bold determination. The winds and the waves rose; the cabin and beds, to which

they betook themselves, were inundated; the boat laboured frightfully, and the Secretary conceived that she would quickly founder. "*Le bruit du vent, des vagues, de la machine à vapeur, et les craquemens du navire se combinaient de telle sorte, que nous paraissions devoir être engloutis d'un moment à l'autre.*" No serious misfortune occurred; but after passing the Balize, they heard, at midnight, the batteries at New-Orleans firing a salute of one hundred guns, to announce the beginning of the day on which the Guest of the nation was to arrive. In addition to the impulses of their American patriotism, a direct congeniality,—a feeling of *compatriotism*,—animated the Louisianians of French origin, in regard to Lafayette. They rallied to him with a double zest. Here he found a considerable number of revolutionary veterans and French exiles of distinction. A hundred or more Choctaw Indians had transferred their wigwams to the neighbourhood of the city, in order to see "the great warrior," the "brother of their great father Washington;" and they took part in the military parades and processions, in file, with earnest concurrence and uniform decorum.

The exertions of the people of New-Orleans were as happy, and their bustle quite as lively, as those of New-York, while Lafayette sojourned among them. M. Levasseur expatiates on their indefatigable and dazzling hospitality, and on their glorious repulse of the British in our last war. He affirms, that General Jackson, in his defence of the place, committed, from inadvertence or want of time, two serious mistakes, which he specifies, but which we shall not repeat, because we do not know that the Secretary is an authority as a military critic, and doubt whether deference should be paid to any judgments by persons who had no opportunity of seeing all the peculiarities and difficulties of Jackson's situation. In twenty-six hours after leaving New-Orleans, Lafayette reached *Baton Rouge*, where he at once entered the fort, and then proceeded to examine the interior of the barracks. "What was our surprise," says his secretary, "to find in the first apartment, in lieu of beds, arms and warlike equipments, a numerous assemblage of elegantly dressed and beautiful ladies, who surrounded the General and offered him refreshments and flowers. We passed some delightful moments in the midst of this captivating garrison." In thirty hours, the travellers arrived at Natchez, to be welcomed in like manner. At the moment that the General was concluding his reply to the address of the Natchez committee, a man rushed from the crowd towards him, waving his hat, and cried in French; "Honour to the commander of the Parisian guard—I was under your orders in '91, my General;—I still love liberty as I loved it then;—*Long life to Lafayette*," (the cry of the guard). They shook hands cordially. This apostrophe must, we think, have been one of the most

agreeable instances of surprise among the many which he experienced in his tour. There was, in fact, a constant resuscitation of old and forgotten acquaintance,—strange appearances and coincidences—which served to stimulate his attention and fancy, and to season his incessant, prodigious intercourse with similar crowds. Often might he have repeated Chateaubriand's lamentation in the *Sketch of Palestine*—"There is no part of the world where our political storms have not cast the children of St. Louis—there is no desert in which they have not sighed after their native land." But here, though the sigh may still be heaved, they possess that liberty for which they may have vainly exposed themselves at home ;—they have a country, though the native land be lost and regretted ; they can gather, unmolested, all the fruits of their industry and intelligence, and transmit a secure inheritance of freedom and plenty to their children.

M. Levasseur describes the aspect of the Mississippi and its banks, the nature of the navigation, and the commerce of the steam-boats with the shore, in ascending the father of rivers,—curious topics for untravelled readers. Of the minor incidents, we may mention the spectacle of a noble stag crossing the stream, and swimming with as much calmness and ease, as it would have paced the plain. When it heard the noise of the steam-boat, it laid its long branching antlers on its shoulders, and sank in the water in order to escape notice, moving rapidly for the swiftest part of the current. As soon as it thought itself beyond pursuit, it rose on the surface, raised its antlers proudly, and tranquilly resumed its course. Herds of this animal are said to be frequently seen, passing thus from one shore to the other, or visiting the enamelled and fertile islands in the stream. St. Louis was reached on the 29th April, amidst shouts from steam-boats and discharges of artillery. An old French sergeant, called *Bellissime*, of the army of Rochambeau, was among the first to salute the Guest. M. Levasseur's chapter concerning St. Louis, is particularly rich in anecdotes and personages. He learned the pregnant fact, that in consequence of the facility and rapidity of communication by steam-boats, New-Orleans and St. Louis are now regarded as neighbouring cities, whose inhabitants are better acquainted, and visit each other oftener, than those of Paris and Bordeaux can do. At Kaskaskia, he mingled with the descendants of the French settlers, and with French Canadians. The following paragraphs contain a graphic delineation of three varieties of the throng :—

"During an instant of profound silence, I cast a glance at the assembly, in the midst of which I found myself, and was struck with astonishment in remarking their diversity and fantastic appearance. Besides men whose dignity of countenance, and patriotic loftiness of expression, readily indicated them to be Americans, were others, whose coarse dresses, vivacity, petulance of movement, and the expansive joy of their visages, strongly recalled to me the peasantry of my



own country ; behind these, near to the door, and on the piazza which surrounded the house, stood some immovable, impassible, large, red, half naked figures, leaning on a bow or long rifle : these were the Indians of the neighbourhood."

"Some old revolutionary soldiers advanced from the crowd, and came to shake hands with their old general ; while he conversed with them, and heard them, with softened feelings, cite the names of those of their ancient companions in arms, who also fought at Brandywine and Yorktown, but for whom it was not ordained to enjoy the fruits of their toils, nor to unite their voices with that of their grateful country. The persons whom I had remarked as having some likeness in dress and manners to our French peasants, went and came with vivacity in all parts of the hall, or sometimes formed little groups, from the midst of which could be heard, in the French language, the most open and animated expressions of joy."

At a small distance from Kaskaskia was an Indian encampment, which M. Levasseur inspected, and to which belonged a female Indian, called *Mary*, whose adventures and character, as authentically told in the eleventh chapter, surpass in romantic and original attraction, most of the best tales of the *Souvenirs*. The story is too long to be transcribed, and we shall therefore merely report the object of the interview which she anxiously sought, and easily obtained, with General Lafayette.

"On returning to Kaskaskia, we found Mr. de Syon, 'an amiable young Frenchman, of much intelligence, who, on the invitation of General Lafayette, left Washington city with us, to visit the southern and western states. Like us, he had just made an excursion into the neighbourhood, and appeared quite joyous at the discovery he had made ; he had met, in the midst of the forest, at the head of a troop of Indians, a pretty young woman, who spoke French very well, and expressed herself with a grace at which he appeared as much astonished as we were. She had asked him if it was true, that Lafayette was at Kaskaskia, and on his replying affirmatively, she manifested a great desire to see him. 'I always carry with me,' said she to Mr. de Syon, 'a relique, that is very dear to me ; I would wish to show it to him ; it will prove to him that his name is not less venerated in the midst of our tribes, than among the white Americans, for whom he fought.' And in speaking thus, she drew from her bosom a little pouch, which enclosed a letter carefully wrapped in several pieces of paper. 'It is from Lafayette,' said she ; 'he wrote it to my father a long time since, and my father, when he died, left it to me as the most precious thing he possessed.'"

"I spoke to General Lafayette of the meeting with the young Indian girl ; and from the desire he manifested to see her, I left the table with Mr. de Syon, at the moment when the company began to exchange patriotic toasts, and we sought a guide to Mary's camp. Chance assisted us wonderfully, in directing us to an Indian of the same tribe that we wished to visit. Conducted by him, we crossed the bridge of Kaskaskia, and notwithstanding the darkness, soon recognised the path and rivulet I had seen in the morning with Mr. Caire. When we were about to enter the enclosure, we were arrested by the fierce barking of two stout dogs, which sprang at, and would probably have bitten us, but for the timely interference of our guide. We arrived at the middle of the camp, which was lighted by a large fire, around which a dozen Indians were squatted, preparing their supper ; they received us with cordiality, and, as soon as they were informed of the object of our visit, one of them conducted us to Mary's hut, whom we found sleeping on a bison skin. At the voice of Mr. de Syon, which she recognised, she arose, and listened attentively to the invitation from General Lafayette to come to Kaskaskia ; she seemed quite flattered by it, but said, before deciding to accompany us, she wished to mention it to her husband."

Mary's father was a chief of one of the nations who inhabited the shores of the great lakes of the north ; he fought, with a hun-

dred of his tribe, under the orders of Lafayette in our revolutionary war, and a considerable time after emigrated to the banks of the river Illinois. Dying, he committed to his daughter the document mentioned above, as a powerful charm to secure for her the protection of the Americans. Mary handed it to M. Levasseur, who says—"I opened the letter, and recognised the signature and hand-writing of General Lafayette. It was dated at head-quarters, Albany, June 1778, after the northern campaign, and addressed to Panisciowa, an Indian chief of one of the Six Nations, to thank him for the courageous manner in which he had served the American cause." The secretary conducted Mary to General Lafayette at Kaskaskia. "He saw and heard her with pleasure, and could not conceal his emotion on recognising his letter, and observing with what religious reverence it had been preserved for nearly half a century in a savage tribe." The daughter of Panisciowa, on her part, was overjoyed at such a meeting,—as singular, indeed, in its circumstances, as any which the invention of a novelist could have devised.

From Kaskaskia, Lafayette returned to the mouth of the Ohio, for the purpose of repairing to Nashville, by the Cumberland river. In the first week of May, they heard the glad greetings of the inhabitants of that town; who left nothing undone to compensate him for this diversion from his course. For a short time the enthusiasm of the crowd was hushed by the loud and touching raptures of a very aged soldier, named *Hagy*, a German, who had come to this country in the same vessel with Lafayette, and served under him during the whole war of the Revolution. Notwithstanding severe infirmities, this veteran had travelled more than fifty leagues, in order to procure a sight of his beloved leader. Among the guests at the public dinner, at which General Jackson presided, was a person of a venerable exterior, Timothy Demundrune, *the first white man who settled in the state of Tennessee*, which has already furnished a President to the Union! General Jackson entertained the Guest and his suite at his residence, *the Hermitage*, and M. Levasseur has fully appreciated the unostentatious comfort and liberality, the plain but abundant cheer, and the manly, unvarnished sense and patriotism, which they tasted under the farmer's roof. The diary of this visit is copious and impressive.

Lafayette re-entered the Ohio on the 7th of May, on his way to Louisville. The steam-boat which carried him was small and crowded, and urged forward with the whole power of the engine. At ten o'clock at night, the son of the General, Mr. George Lafayette, descended from the deck into the ladies' cabin, which was reserved for the Guest and his companions, expressing his surprise, that, in so dark a night, the captain did not lie to, or at least abate the speed of his vessel. At midnight,

when the General and his son were in deep sleep, the boat experienced a startling shock, and stopped short,—confused noises were heard, and then the cries of the captain,—“A snag! a snag!—Lafayette,—the boat.” In the midst of the disorder and darkness, the *Guest* was dragged to the door of the cabin, lifted to the deck, now scarcely tenable,—so much had the vessel heeled—and instantaneously conveyed to the pinnace, which the captain and two sailors had brought to her side. We must refer our readers to M. Levasseur’s pages, for the agitating particulars of the disaster, and the escape; in the ample narration of which he has exercised much skill. There are two traits, however, so honourable and expressive, that we cannot refrain from reciting them in a few words. M. Levasseur, as soon as he reached the deck, pushed into the middle of the terrified body of passengers assembled there, exclaiming:—Here is General Lafayette!—“Profound silence succeeded to the tumult; a free passage was opened to us; and all those who were ready to spring into the boat, spontaneously checked themselves,—not wishing to attend to their own safety before that of Lafayette was assured;”—*ne voulant pas songer à leur salut avant que celui de Lafayette fût assuré*. It must be noted that the boat was believed to be sinking,—that the distance to the shore was unknown—that the danger and the horror were extreme.—Again—neither the wreck of the boat, nor the loss of twelve hundred dollars which he had on board, afflicted the captain so heavily as the mishap to the *Guest* when in his hands. He observed, in agony, the day following—“never will my fellow-citizens pardon me for the perils to which Lafayette was exposed last night.” Had the *Guest* perished, he never would have been pardoned; but, with the rescue, his bitter mortification and grief more than expiated, in public opinion, any degree of imprudence with which he could be charged; and for which, in fact, no other motive could be supposed than honest zeal. The sensation which the tidings of this accident excited over the whole country, illustrated also the keenness of the universal solicitude for the welfare of Lafayette.

Another steam-boat, the *Paragon*, of large size and remarkable elegance, which was passing down to New Orleans, turned about, exultingly received the stranded crowd of passengers, with such portion of their effects as could be recovered, and bore them to Louisville.

“By a very lucky circumstance for us,” says M. Levasseur, “one of our companions in misfortune, Mr. Neilson, was one of the owners of this vessel, and hastened to put it at the disposal of the Tennessee committee, to transport General Lafayette, generously taking on himself all the chances of another misfortune and the loss of insurance.”

“The entertainments given to General Lafayette at Louisville, were marred by the stormy weather; but the expression of public feeling was not the less



pleasing to him. The idea of the danger he had incurred, excited in all breasts a tender solicitude, which every one testified with that simplicity and truth of expression only appertaining to freemen. In the midst of the joy occasioned by the arrival of Lafayette, the citizens of Louisville did not forget the noble disinterestedness of Mr. Neilson, to whom they presented the strongest proofs of gratitude. His name was coupled with that of the general, in the toasts they gave at the public dinner. The insurance company declared that the Paragon should remain insured without an additional charge, and the city presented him a magnificent piece of plate, on which was engraved the thanks of the Tennesseans and Kentuckians for the generous manner in which he had risked the greater part of his fortune that the national guest should receive no delay nor inconvenience in his journey."

The General's next movements were to Frankfort, Lexington, thence to Cincinnati,—Vevay,—Pittsburg,—Erie,—Buffalo,—Niagara,—Rochester,—Albany,—Boston. Our author's itinerary, of all this route, abounds with fine incidents, able delineations, and judicious reflections. *New America* emulated *Old America*, and lavished courtesies, with proofs of congeniality and advancement which the Guest might have doubted as illusions of his fancy and wishes, if they had been less striking and direct.

It was on the 15th of June, that he re-appeared in Boston. In less than four months he had accomplished a journey of more than five thousand miles, such as we have cursorily traced, through sixteen states, in each of which the whole population had clung devoutly to his skirts. His age was then sixty-seven.

"The plan of this journey," says M. Levasseur, "had been ably and skilfully contrived by Mr. M'Lean, the postmaster-general, General Bernard, and Mr. George Lafayette; and had been followed with a precision and exactness, that could only have resulted from the unanimity of feeling which animated both the people and the magistrates of the different states; but, during so long a journey, amidst so many dangers, how many accidents might not have happened, one of which, by delaying us only a few days, would have deranged all our calculations, and yet our good luck was such, that we never lost a moment of the time so exactly portioned out, and arrived on the precise day fixed upon."

All was nearly miraculous. None of our readers who look into the newspapers, can have wholly forgotten how the anniversary for which the Guest practised this signal punctuality, was celebrated by the Bostonians. The secretary has well translated the apposite and eloquent discourse which Mr. Webster delivered on Bunker's Hill, and has circumstantially portrayed the whole glittering pageant. The main prospect was this:—

"The procession marched to a vast amphitheatre constructed on the north-east side of the hill, in the centre of which rose a platform, from which the orator of the day could make his voice heard by the fifteen thousand auditors placed in the amphitheatre; all the officers and soldiers of the revolution, some of whom had arrived from distant places to assist at this solemnity, were seated in front of the platform; the survivors of Bunker's Hill forming a small group before them. At the head of these, in a chair, was the only surviving general of the revolution, General Lafayette; and immediately behind, two thousand ladies, in brilliant dresses, appeared to form a guard of honour to the venerable men, and to defend them against the tumultuous approaches of the crowd; behind the la-



dies, were more than ten thousand persons, seated on the numerous benches, placed in a semicircular form on the side of the hill, the summit of which was crowded by more than thirty thousand spectators, who, although beyond the reach of the orator's voice, maintained the most perfect silence.

While at Boston, Lafayette accepted invitations from the states of Maine, New-Hampshire and Vermont, where his presence was impatiently coveted, and another from the city of New-York, to lend his auspices to her commemoration of the anniversary of Independence. Accordingly, on the 22d June, he set out for the former states, which he traversed at the average of eleven miles an hour; inhaling the same pure incense, clouds of which had risen and enveloped him from all the other divisions of the Union. On the 3d July, he was again in New-York, and the day following, the anniversary was personified and hallowed anew, as it were, in the Guest. He made another short sojourn in Philadelphia, in the middle of July; accompanied a committee from Chester to Lancaster; thence went to Baltimore by the way of Port Deposit and Havre de Grace; reached Washington on the 1st of August, whence he made excursions, along with President Adams, to the residence of Mr. Monroe, in Virginia, and to Monticello; and here he saw the three Ex-Presidents together. The 6th September—his birthday—was distinguished at Washington by a splendid banquet in the President's mansion, and various marks of respect on the part of the municipal authorities and the people. The next day he embarked for France, on board the frigate *Brandywine*, which was placed at his disposal, for any port of Europe, or term of navigation. After his landing, on the 3d October, at Havre, the midshipmen of the frigate transmitted to him a costly silver urn, "as a testimonial of individual esteem, and collective admiration."

We have merely indicated stages in the latter part of his travels. M. Levasseur treats it as comprehensively and instructively as the other. His concluding chapters show that the public interest in Lafayette suffered no diminution—they force us to acknowledge perennial freshness, an unwearied vigilance, an inexhaustible fertility, in the spirit of gratitude and veneration. Nothing of the kind that spontaneous *loyalty*—as the word is understood in Europe—ever attempted for any monarch, can be compared with these prolonged national transports and obeisances; and the private offerings corresponded with the public. The classical student must recollect the exhortation of the Spartan at the Olympic games, to Diagoras of Rhodes, whose two sons won the palm, or crown, which he had himself carried off in his youth—"Die, die now, Diagoras, for thou canst not be a god"—meaning that he could not become greater—that he had nothing more to desire, on earth. Any European might have said as

much to Lafayette, when he touched the shore of his native country, on his return from such an interchange of sympathies, and such a succession of triumphs, before which those of the Greek festivals dwindle into insignificance. Lord Bacon has included it in his aphorisms—that he who has a wife and children has given *hostages to futurity*. We may observe that the country which has manifested such feelings, and proclaimed such principles, as the Americans poured forth to their Guest,—which has solemnized in the face of the world such rites in the name of Independence and Liberty,—has thus pledged itself to all coming ages, for a perpetual observance of order and justice, and a stanch tenaciousness of freedom and dignity. The statements in these volumes imply, or rather demonstrate, abundance, comfort, improvement of manners and condition, elevation and vivacity of character, in every district of our Union—an extraordinary diffusion of those blessings: and they refute the charge of boorishness, asperity, unsociable and uncourtly habits, which has been so often preferred against the republicans of America. The homage of these communities to Lafayette, was, for the most part, as refined and delicate as it was generous and durable;—it had not those qualities, only among the opulent and best educated classes; it was paid in some of its most ingenious and beautiful forms, by the mass of the nation, and the humblest individuals.

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ART. XI.—*Memoir, Correspondence, and Miscellanies, from the papers of Thomas Jefferson.* Edited by THOMAS JEFFERSON RANDOLPH: Charlottesville: 1829. 4 vols. 8vo.

WE know not that there has ever fallen in our way, such food for various reflection, as is offered in these remarkable and interesting volumes. In most works, whether the perusal be light or careful, the reader is satisfied to receive the impressions of the writer; to expect the portion of anecdote or imagination, of fact, argument, or opinion, which he intends to communicate; and to acknowledge his obligations, and form his decisions of excellence or inferiority, as his own feelings or views may correspond with what he has read: his great object is to imbue himself with the ideas of the writer, rather than to indulge his own speculations; to court the excitement which genius offers to him, by its brilliant and captivating inventions; and to lay up the stores of incident and wise conclusion, which are the offspring of research and thought. But we have been struck, in the perusal of these volumes, with their constant and irresistible tenden-

cy to lead away the mind from their immediate subject, into a long train of speculation, on topics not more numerous than interesting, yet really embracing a vast field of inquiry and opinion. They contain the stores, gradually increasing through a long life, which were heaped together by a mind eminently contemplative, and under circumstances which presented at one time the richest scope for variety of incident, and at another for calm and multiplied reflection. For nearly half a century, the life of the writer was the story of one constantly upon the stage, to bear a conspicuous share in the great drama of the times; and for the residue, it was the retirement and repose which calm the thought as much by the entire change, as the actual seclusion, and which as they are accompanied with no further and unsatisfied cravings of ambition, are free from that morbid and feverish sensibility, which so often renders the hermit the victim of inward tumults, as incessant and enslaving as the actual turbulence of life. It was not the fancied seclusion of Cicero, who stole an uncertain hour to indulge with a few friends, in his little island of the Fibrenus, visions of happier times, when virtue, and philosophy, and eloquence, and wisdom should sway mankind, while in fact they were themselves bustling leaders in scenes of political strife, that absorbed their thoughts and actions, and scarcely allowed this casual and hasty relaxation. It was not the seclusion of Horace, who shut out the *fumum et opes beatæ Romæ*, only to bind uninterrupted the garland of ease and pleasure round his brow, to smile at the folly which could find pleasure in incessant toil, and to win from the kindness of the muse, the fame which he would have despised, if purchased at the cost of labour or of care. It was not the patient thoughtful seclusion of Newton, who added each pebble which he collected on the shore of truth, to a single but lofty monument of science. It was not the self deceiving seclusion of Bolingbroke, whose anxious thoughts forever turned to one country, while he affected to laugh at the weakness he himself unconsciously displayed;\* who believed or boasted that he enjoyed unmoved tranquillity of mind, while he forever sighed to pursue again that brilliant career of eloquence, of genius, of wit, of fashion, and of power, the recollection of which alone consoled him, amid the loveliest scenes of rural peace in a foreign land. Even more than all these, it was not the visionary seclusion of Rousseau, commenced in vanity and disgust—continued in querulous and incessant sighs after that singular notoriety and flattery, which were the homage of those who paid them, more to the fashion of the day, than to himself—and leaving as its sole memorial, pages of eloquence,

\* A wise man looks on himself as a citizen of the world; and when you ask him where his country lies, points, like Anaxagoras, with his finger to the heavens.—Reflections on Exile. 105.

of passion, and of worldly strife, which are the effect of other feelings than those that spring from real retirement. But it was the chosen seclusion of one who had well filled a noble part in public life, from which he was prepared and anxious to withdraw; who sought it to gratify warm affections, and to enjoy his well-earned fame; who desired to turn those thoughts which had been necessarily restrained and limited, to the investigation of all the sources of human happiness and enjoyment; who felt himself surrounded, in his fellow-citizens, by a circle of affectionate friends, and had not to attribute to a rude expulsion from the theatre of ambition, his sincere devotion to the pursuits of agriculture and philosophy; and who, receiving to the last moment of existence, continued proofs of unaffected admiration and regard, which penetrated his remote retirement, devoted the evening of his days to record those various reflections, for which the materials had been collected and treasured up, unknown to himself, in the long and various voyage of his life. Hence it is, that there is scarcely a topic on which we desire to dwell, that is not here brought before us—all the bustle of politics, of wars, and of revolutions; the virtues, the failings, the actions, and the characters of men, the most illustrious of their day; the discoveries of philosophy and science; the development and trophies of genius, of art, and of taste; the cultivation of warm and generous affections; the truths of religion and morality; the devices of the ambitious, the dogmatic, the hypocritical, and the faithless—all are found scattered through the writings of one who witnessed two revolutions, who lived through eventful times, and to whom were given honours and length of days, beyond the ordinary meed of mankind.

Mr. Jefferson had scarcely reached his majority, when he entered upon that public career which he continued to pursue for nearly half a century, and which embraced three distinct and important portions—that of the revolution of his own country; his residence in Europe; and his participation in the government and politics of the United States, under the new constitution formed in his absence.

Among the political leaders of America, no one was more conspicuous for his consistent and undeviating republicanism, than Mr. Jefferson; as it marked the latest, so it prompted the earliest of his actions. He had been but a short time in the legislature of Virginia, before he saw, in the course pursued by the British government, a systematic design against all the colonies, and the necessity, if this was to be resisted, of a firm, united, and simultaneous opposition. Associating himself with some of the bolder spirits of his state, and fearing in the old and leading members, a want of forwardness and zeal which the times required, the excellent system of committees of correspondence,



the forerunner of a general congress, was devised and arranged at a tavern in Richmond, and promptly carried into effect, before the royal governor, lord Dunmore, had an opportunity to oppose and suppress it. The merit of this great preliminary measure, has been asserted on behalf of Massachusetts, a province truly bold and patriotic in the revolutionary struggle, but it seems to be sufficiently established, that the plan adopted in that colony, was limited to a correspondence among its several towns, and that the design of a general communication between the legislatures of the different colonies, originated with the little conclave at the Raleigh tavern. It was followed, as was expected and intended, by a general desire on the part of the colonies for a congress; and the legislature of Virginia proceeded at once to choose delegates to that body. Mr. Jefferson being prevented from attending by sudden illness, was still anxious that a decided tone should be assumed on the occasion, and that the representatives of Virginia, as a large and influential colony, should feel themselves fully sustained by their constituents, however bold the course they might think it best for the united provinces to adopt. He therefore sent on by express, a draught, hastily prepared, of what he thought might be given in instruction to the delegates who should be appointed. It was laid on the table as the proposition of a member, who was prevented from attendance by sickness on the road; "tamer sentiments, however," he remarks himself, "were preferred, and, I believe, wisely preferred; the leap I proposed being too long, as yet, for the mass of our citizens. The distance between these and the instructions actually adopted, is of some curiosity, however, as it shows the inequality of pace with which we moved, and the prudence required to keep front and rear together. My creed had been formed on unsheathing the sword at Lexington." Yet it was a document much read, and being generally approved, the legislature caused it to be printed in a pamphlet, under the title of "A summary view of the rights of the British colonies." In that form it soon found its way to England, where the opposition took it up, as well suited to their views. Mr. Burke made some alterations in its language, and it obtained for its author, who was soon known, the reputation of an able party writer, and what was then thought, perhaps, the dangerous honour, of being named in a bill of attainder, which was commenced, though afterwards suppressed, in one of the houses of Parliament.

These circumstances were sufficient to indicate the tone Mr. Jefferson would employ, when he took his seat in the continental Congress. He assumed at once the bold and decided ground, that no partial concessions of right were to be accepted, but that

the accommodation between the two countries must be made on the most broad and liberal basis.

"I am sincerely one of those," he wrote in the summer of 1775, to a friend who adhered to the royal cause; "I am sincerely one of those who still wish for reunion with the parent country, and would rather be in dependence on Great Britain, properly limited, than on any nation upon earth, or than on no nation. But I am one of those, too, who, rather than submit to the rights of legislating for us, assumed by the British parliament, and which late experience has shown they will so cruelly exercise, would lend a hand to sink the whole island in the ocean". \* \* "Believe me, dear sir," he adds in a subsequent letter, "there is not in the British empire a man who more cordially loves a union with Great Britain than I do. But, by the God that made me, I will cease to exist before I yield to a connexion on such terms as the parliament propose; and in this I think I speak the sentiments of America. We want neither inducement nor power to declare and assert a separation. It is will alone which is wanting, and that is growing apace under the fostering hand of our king. One bloody campaign will probably decide everlastingly on our future course; I am sorry to find a bloody campaign is decided on. If our winds and waters should not combine to rescue our shores from slavery, and general Howe's reinforcement should arrive in safety, we have hopes he will be inspirited to come out of Boston and take another drubbing; and we must drub him soundly before the scepter'd tyrant will know we are not mere brutes, to crouch under his hand, and kiss the rod with which he deigns to scourge us."

The spirit thus flagrant in the leaders, was not long dormant in the mass of the community, and the desire of independence had even become general and pervading, while some, not usually wanting either in patriotism or wisdom, but less quick in perceiving the emergency and necessities of the times, would rather have kissed yet a little longer the rod that scourged them, in the vain hope that it might be exchanged for a wand of peace. When, therefore, on the 7th of June 1776, the delegates of Virginia moved, in obedience to the instructions of their constituents, that Congress should declare the united colonies free and independent states, a debate arose which lasted for several days, and called forth on each side the talents and eloquence of the leading delegates. Of this debate these volumes afford, for the first time, a correct account, in actual notes of the discussion, made by Mr. Jefferson at the time. The names of the principal speakers are recorded, but, perhaps unfortunately, the remarks are all thrown into one mass, without ascribing to the members their respective arguments.

"It appearing from these debates, that the colonies of New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and South Carolina, were not yet matured for falling from the parent stem, but that they were fast advancing to that state, it was thought most prudent to wait awhile for them, and to postpone the final decision to July 1st: but, that this might occasion as little delay as possible, a committee was appointed to prepare a Declaration of Independence. The committee were, John Adams, Dr. Franklin, Roger Sherman, Robert R. Livingston, and myself. Committees were also appointed, at the same time, to prepare a plan of confederation for the colonies, and to state the terms proper to be proposed for foreign alliance. The committee for drawing the Declaration of Independence, desired me to do it. It was accordingly done, and being approved by them, I reported it to the House, on Friday, the 28th of June, when it was read

and ordered to lie on the table. On Monday, the 1st of July, the House resolved itself into a committee of the whole, and resumed the consideration of the original motion made by the delegates of Virginia, which, being again debated through the day, was carried in the affirmative by the votes of New-Hampshire, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Rhode-Island, New-Jersey, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina and Georgia. South Carolina and Pennsylvania voted against it. Delaware had but two members present, and they were divided. The delegates from New-York, declared they were for it themselves, and were assured their constituents were for it; but that their instructions having been drawn near a twelvemonth before, when reconciliation was still the general object, they were enjoined by them to do nothing which should impede that object. They therefore thought themselves not justifiable in voting on either side, and asked leave to withdraw from the question; which was given them. The committee rose and reported their resolution to the House. Mr. Edward Rutledge, of South Carolina, then requested the determination might be put off to the next day, as he believed his colleagues, though they disapproved of the resolution, would then join in it for the sake of unanimity. The ultimate question, whether the House would agree to the resolution of the committee, was accordingly postponed to the next day, when it was again moved, and South Carolina concurred in voting for it. In the mean time, a third member had come post from the Delaware counties, and turned the vote of that colony in favour of the resolution. Members of a different sentiment attending that morning from Pennsylvania also, her vote was changed, so that the whole twelve colonies who were authorized to vote at all, gave their voices for it; and, within a few days, the convention of New-York approved of it, and thus supplied the void occasioned by the withdrawing of her delegates from the vote."

As soon as the resolutions in favour of independence had been passed, the declaration already reported was taken into consideration. It had been prepared entirely by Mr. Jefferson, who had communicated it first to Dr. Franklin and Mr. Adams separately,\* and received from them two or three alterations, merely verbal; and afterwards to the whole committee, by whom it was reported unaltered to Congress. In this body, though received with general approbation, it was modified in two particulars not unimportant. The people of Great Britain had been included, with the legislature and sovereign, in the expressions of indignation which it was thought their co-operation and approval rendered just, and which at least were fully warranted by their subsequent conduct throughout the war; but there were at that time, some in Congress whose minds seem to have been haunted with the idea, that there were in England friends of the revolted colonies, who might be lost by an unqualified censure of the whole British people, and in deference to their scruples, such expressions were modified or omitted. A clause too had been introduced, strongly reprobating the sanction and even forcible encouragement of the slave trade by Great Britain; but as some of the southern states had not ceased to prosecute that traffic, and many even of the northern merchants were considerably in-

\* This circumstance, from a failure of memory, naturally gave rise to the idea which Mr. Adams afterwards expressed, that Mr. Jefferson and himself formed a sub-committee, to which the preparation of this document was referred by the committee of five.



terested in it; a becoming complaisance removed what might occasion some unkindness of feeling, and certainly was not necessary, where there existed so many other grounds for complaint and opposition. With these and a few more changes, chiefly of expression, the declaration, as reported, was agreed to by the house, and signed on the 4th of July by every member present except Mr. Dickinson; on the 2d of August, another copy, engrossed on parchment for durability, was signed by the members. The circumstance which has frequently excited remark, that there are signatures affixed of persons not actually present on the 4th of July, is thus explained by Mr. Jefferson in a letter to Mr. Wells.

"The subsequent signatures of members who were not then present, and some of them not yet in office, is easily explained, if we observe who they were; to wit, that they were of New-York and Pennsylvania. New-York did not sign till the 15th, because it was not till the 9th, (five days after the general signature) that their Convention authorized them to do so. The Convention of Pennsylvania, learning that it had been signed by a minority only of their delegates, named a new delegation on the 20th, leaving out Mr. Dickinson, who had refused to sign, Willing and Humphreys, who had withdrawn, re-appointing the three members who had signed, Morris, who had not been present, and five new ones, to wit, Rush, Clymer, Smith, Taylor, and Ross: and Morris, and the five new members were permitted to sign, because it manifested the assent of their full delegation, and the express will of their Convention, which might have been doubted on the former signature of a minority only. Why the signature of Thornton, of New-Hampshire, was permitted so late as the 4th of November, I cannot now say; but undoubtedly for some particular reason, which we should find to have been good, had it been expressed."

As soon as the Declaration of Independence was promulgated, the war was prosecuted by Congress with uninterrupted energy and zeal; many who had before wavered, became steady supporters of the new government, and every effort was made to increase and to bring out the resources of the country to meet the emergency. This was not rendered the less difficult during the war, by the circumstance that the executive, as well as legislative business, was vested in the same numerous assembly; so that the latter was continually interrupted by the details of execution, and the former imperfectly transacted, from the many and various hands to which it was confided; in addition to these objections, the union of the two powers required the constant session of the legislature, or the suspension of all acts of government. To remedy this, Mr. Jefferson proposed the appointment of an executive committee, consisting of a member from every state; but though it entered upon its duties with every prospect of utility and success, the members composing it afterwards quarrelled, split into two parties, abandoned their post, and left the government without any visible head during the adjournment of Congress.

"We have since seen the same thing take place, in the Directory of France; and I believe it will forever take place in any Executive consisting of a plurali-



ty. Our plan, I believe, best combines wisdom and practicability, by providing a plurality of Counsellors, but a single Arbiter for ultimate decision. I was in France when we heard of the schism, and separation of our committee, and, speaking with Dr. Franklin of this singular disposition of men to quarrel, and divide into parties, he gave his sentiments as usual, by way of apologue. He mentioned the Eddystone light-house, in the British channel, as being built on a rock, in the mid-channel, totally inaccessible in winter, from the boisterous character of that sea, in that season; that, therefore, for the two keepers employed to keep up the lights, all provisions for the winter, were necessarily carried to them in autumn, as they could never be visited again till the return of the milder season; that, on the first practicable day in the spring, a boat put off to them with fresh supplies. The boatmen met at the door one of the keepers, and accosted him with a 'how goes it friend?' 'very well.' 'How is your companion?' 'I do not know.' 'Don't know? Is not he here?' 'I can't tell.' 'Have not you seen him to-day?' 'No.' 'When did you see him?' 'Not since last fall.' 'You have killed him?' 'Not I, indeed.' They were about to lay hold of him, as having certainly murdered his companion; but he desired them to go up stairs and examine for themselves. They went up, and there found the other keeper. They had quarrelled, it seems, soon after being left there, had divided into two parties, assigned the cares below to one, and those above to the other, and had never spoken to or seen one another since."

Another cause of disagreement arose from the difficulty of properly defining the weight which each state was to have in the confederation, and the corresponding proportion of its obligation of aid to the general cause. No actual census appears to have been made, so as to ascertain the exact population, and indeed Congress refused to place on their journals, the estimates on which they formed their apportionments of taxation. These estimates were made in the most informal manner; the members being merely called on to declare, at their seats, the number of inhabitants which they conjectured to be in their state, and the secretary of Congress then calculating the corresponding portion of the sum to be raised, which alone was entered in the journals. On this basis, Mr. Jefferson states the population in 1775, at two millions four hundred and forty-eight thousand persons of every condition; and ten years after, in 1785, on a calculation founded on facts in some degree more certain, he estimates the number at two millions six hundred and thirty-nine thousand three hundred inhabitants, of every condition, in the thirteen states, including seven hundred thousand slaves. In apportioning the money under this last estimate, Congress agreed that five slaves should be counted as three freemen only, a principle which had before given rise to very considerable debate, and which at a still later period occasioned much interesting discussion.

The same cause, that of peculiar interest and situation, produced the similar difficulty of a proportionate vote on the measures submitted to Congress; while those states possessing a large population, contended for a corresponding weight in the decision of all measures, the smaller ones maintained their independent character, and the federative principle, by which their

sovereignty, rather than their population, was to be respected. The present volumes contain a summary report of one of the debates that occurred on this subject, taken by Mr. Jefferson at the time.

These, and a thousand other questions less general and abstract, gave to the first Congress more occasions of animated debate and conflicting sentiment, than we have been accustomed to attribute to that august and venerable assemblage. Without notes of their arguments, and possessing merely the formal record of their decisions, we have learnt to regard them with a becoming reverence, which is due from those who are enjoying the result of their wisdom, their fortitude, and their self-devotion.

The revolutionary services of Mr. Jefferson, however, were by no means limited to the affairs of the Union. In the intervals when he held no seat in Congress, he exerted himself strenuously in the government of Virginia, not merely to overthrow completely the power and authority of the mother country, but to introduce, while the occasion offered so favourable an opportunity, changes in the laws and constitution, founded on the great and just principles of the social contract. He was supported, indeed, by able and faithful coadjutors; but the leading and most important laws were prepared by him, and carried chiefly by his own efforts.

The first of these measures was to introduce a bill preventing the further importation of slaves, which was passed, and to prepare and arrange a system, of which that was the precursor, for their eventual emancipation, by conferring freedom on all born after a certain day, and deportation at a certain age. He found the public mind, at that time, unprepared for so great a step, and though he looked upon the freedom of the blacks as an event certain and inevitable, and one that was to be gradually and wisely met, he did not deem it prudent to urge it on, when there was little chance of success.

"It was seen," he remarks, "that an unsuccessful effort, as too often happens, would only rivet still closer the chains of bondage, and retard the moment of delivery to this oppressed description of men. What a stupendous, what an incomprehensible machine is man! who can endure toil, famine, stripes, imprisonment, and death itself, in vindication of his own liberty, and, the next moment, be deaf to all those motives whose power supported him through his trial, and inflict on his fellow men a bondage, one hour of which is fraught with more misery, than ages of that which he rose in rebellion to oppose. But we must await, with patience, the workings of an overruling Providence, and hope that he is preparing the deliverance of these, our suffering brethren. When the measure of their tears shall be full, when their groans shall have involved heaven itself in darkness, doubtless, a God of justice will awaken to their distress, and by diffusing light and liberality among their oppressors, or, at length, by his exterminating thunder, manifest his attention to the things of this world, and that they are not left to the guidance of a blind fatality."

His next great measure was the abolition of entails; this broke up the hereditary and high-handed aristocracy of Virginia, which,

under the fostering care of the British government, had been formed into a patrician order, unknown to the other provinces, distinguished by the splendour and luxury of their establishments, and devoted to the interests and will of the crown.

To complete that equality among the citizens, to which this measure led, and which was absolutely essential to the maintenance of republican institutions, his next step was the abolition of the rights of primogeniture, and the equal partition of inheritances among all the children.

The overthrow of the church establishment, which had been craftily woven into the political system, as in England, was a task effected with less ease. It was, however, accomplished by degrees, and by the continued and untiring efforts of himself and his friends for several sessions.

To these four cardinal measures, the very basis of republican security, are to be added his labours in revising and reducing to system, the various and irregular enactments of the colonial government and the mother country; in preparing a plan of general education; in establishing religious freedom, in all the latitude of reason and right; in ascertaining and defining crimes and punishments; and in maintaining the government, and fulfilling with untiring activity and zeal the duties of the executive office, when the state was invaded at once on the north and south, ravaged by the troops of Tarleton and Arnold, and he himself made the object of particular pursuit. On these events it would be useful to dwell, and there is much in the present volumes which would increase the interest of such a detail; but we are admonished by what yet remains unnoticed, to hasten to other periods of Mr. Jefferson's life, and must close the story of his revolutionary career, by a few extracts from those passages in which he depicts the characters of some of the illustrious men who acted with him.

The personages of whom he speaks, as most remarkable in his own state, while he was in the legislature there, were his friend and tutor, Wythe; his steady coadjutor, Mason; Pendleton, not unfrequently, his opponent; his bold and eloquent colleague, Henry; and Carr, his accomplished and spirited relation.

"No man ever left behind him a character more venerated than *George Wythe*. His virtue was of the purest tint; his integrity inflexible, and his justice exact; of warm patriotism, and, devoted as he was to liberty, and the natural and equal rights of man, he might truly be called the Cato of his country, without the avarice of the Roman; for a more disinterested person never lived. Temperance and regularity in all his habits, gave him general good health, and his unaffected modesty and suavity of manners, endeared him to every one. He was of easy elocution, his language chaste, methodical in the arrangement of his matter, learned and logical in the use of it, and of great urbanity in debate; not quick of apprehension, but, with a little time, profound in penetration, and sound in conclusion. In his philosophy he was firm, and neither troubling, nor perhaps trusting any one with his religious creed, he left the world to the con-



clusion, that that religion must be good which could produce a life of such exemplary virtue."

"I had many occasional and strenuous coadjutors in debate, and one, most steadfast, able and zealous; who was himself a host. This was *George Mason*, a man of the first order of wisdom among those who acted on the theatre of the revolution, of expansive mind, profound judgment, cogent in argument, learned in the lore of our former constitution, and earnest for the republican change on democratic principles. His elocution was neither flowing nor smooth; but his language was strong, his manner most impressive, and strengthened by a dash of biting cynicism, when provocation made it seasonable."

"*Mr. Pendleton* was zealously attached to ancient establishments, and taken all in all, was the ablest man in debate I have ever met with. He had not indeed the poetical fancy of *Mr. Henry*, his sublime imagination, his lofty and overwhelming diction; but he was cool, smooth and persuasive; his language flowing, chaste, and embellished; his conceptions quick, acute, and full of resource; never vanquished; for if he lost the main battle, he returned upon you, and regained so much of it as to make it a drawn one, by dexterous manoeuvres, skirmishes in detail, and the recovery of small advantages, which, little singly, were important all together. You never knew when you were clear of him, but were harassed by his perseverance, until the patience was worn down of all who had less of it than himself. Add to this, that he was one of the most virtuous and benevolent of men, the kindest friend, the most amiable and pleasant of companions, which ensured a favourable reception to whatever came from him."

"I well remember the pleasure expressed in the countenance and conversation of the members generally, on the *debut* of *Mr. Carr*, and the hopes they conceived as well from the talents as the patriotism it manifested. But he died within two months after, and in him we lost a powerful fellow-labourer. His character was of a high order. A spotless integrity, sound judgment, handsome imagination, enriched by education and reading, quick and clear in his conceptions, of correct and ready elocution, impressing every hearer with the sincerity of the heart from which it flowed. His firmness was inflexible in whatever he thought was right: but when no moral principle stood in the way, never had man more of the milk of human kindness, of indulgence, of softness, of pleasantry in conversation and conduct. The number of his friends, and the warmth of their affection, were proofs of his worth, and of their estimate of it."

Of four prominent men in Congress, the following account will prove interesting:—

"*Mr. Madison* came into the House in 1776, a new member and young; which circumstances, concurring with his extreme modesty, prevented his venturing himself in debate before his removal to the Council of State, in November '77. From thence he went to Congress, then consisting of few members. Trained in these successive schools, he acquired a habit of self-possession, which placed at ready command the rich resources of his luminous and discriminating mind, and of his extensive information, and rendered him the first of every assembly afterwards, of which he became a member. Never wandering from his subject into vain declamation, but pursuing it closely, in language pure, classical, and copious; soothing always the feelings of his adversaries, by civilities and softness of expression, he rose to the eminent station which he held in the great National Convention of 1787; and in that of Virginia, which followed, he sustained the new constitution in all its parts, bearing off the palm against the logic of *George Mason*, and the fervid declamation of *Mr. Henry*. With these consummate powers, were united a pure and spotless virtue, which no calumny has ever attempted to sully. Of the powers and polish of his pen, and of the wisdom of his administration in the highest office of the nation, I need say nothing. They have spoken, and will forever speak for themselves."

"*Dr. Franklin* had many political enemies, as every character must, which, with decision enough to have opinions, has energy and talent to give them effect on the feelings of those of the adversary opinion. These enmities were chiefly in



Pennsylvania and Massachusetts. In the former, they were merely of the proprietary party. In the latter, they did not commence till the Revolution, and then sprung chiefly from personal animosities, which, spreading by little and little, became at length of some extent. As to the charge of subservience to France, besides the evidence of his friendly colleagues, two years of my own service with him at Paris, daily visits, and the most friendly and confidential conversations, convince me it had not a shadow of foundation. He possessed the confidence of that government in the highest degree, insomuch, that it may truly be said, that they were more under his influence, than he under theirs. The fact is, that his temper was so amiable and conciliatory, his conduct so rational, never urging impossibilities, or even things unreasonably inconvenient to them; in short, so moderate and attentive to their difficulties, as well as our own, that what his enemies called subserviency, I saw was only that reasonable disposition, which, sensible that advantages are not all to be on one side, yielding what is just and liberal, is the more certain of obtaining liberality and justice. Mutual confidence produces, of course, mutual influence; and this was all which subsisted between Dr. Franklin and the government of France."

"Of *Samuel Adams*, I can say that he was truly a great man, wise in council, fertile in resources, immoveable in his purposes, and had, I think, a greater share than any other member, in advising and directing our measures in the Northern war. As a speaker, he could not be compared with his living colleague and namesake, whose deep conceptions, nervous style, and undaunted firmness, made him truly our bulwark in debate. But Mr. Samuel Adams, although not of fluent elocution, was so rigorously logical, so clear in his views, abundant in good sense, and master always of his subject, that he commanded the most profound attention whenever he rose in an assembly, by which the froth of declamation was heard with the most sovereign contempt."

"You know the opinion I formerly entertained of my friend Mr. *John Adams*. I afterwards saw proofs which convicted him of a degree of vanity and of a blindness to it of which no germ then appeared. He is vain, irritable, and a bad calculator of the force and probable effect of the motives which govern men. This is all the ill which can possibly be said of him. He is as disinterested as the being who made him: he is profound in his views, and accurate in his judgment, except where knowledge of the world is necessary to form a judgment. He is so amiable, that I pronounce you will love him, if ever you become acquainted with him. He would be, as he was, a great man in Congress."

On the 6th of August, 1784, Mr. Jefferson arrived at Paris, as minister plenipotentiary of the United States, and joined with Dr. Franklin and Mr. Adams, in a commission for negotiating treaties of commerce with foreign nations. He remained abroad until the 23d of November, 1789. The efforts of the commissioners in forming commercial treaties, do not appear to have been very successful, and indeed after some reflection and experience, it was thought better not to urge them too strongly, but to leave such regulations to flow voluntarily from the amicable dispositions and the evident interests of the several nations. This necessity is not perhaps to be so much regretted, from any loss sustained in consequence of it to the United States, as from the circumstance, that it suffered to pass unimproved so fortunate an opportunity of introducing into the law of nations, those honourable, humane, and just stipulations with regard to privateering, blockades, contraband, and freedom of fisheries, which, at the suggestion of Dr. Franklin, the commissioners had been in-

structed to introduce, if possible, into all the conventions they might form.

Since the treaty of peace, the English government had been particularly distant and unaccommodating in its relations with the United States; but at one period of Mr. Jefferson's residence abroad, it was supposed that there were some symptoms of better disposition shown towards us. On this account he left Paris, and on his arrival at London, agreed with Mr. Adams on a very summary form of treaty, proposing "an exchange of citizenship for our citizens, our ships, and our productions generally, except as to office." At the usual presentation, however, to the king and queen, both Mr. Adams and himself were received in the most ungracious manner, and they at once discovered, that the ulcerations of mind in that quarter, left nothing to be expected on the particular subject of the visit. A few vague and ineffectual conferences followed, after which he returned to Paris. He did not, however, cease to keep a watchful eye on the proceedings and conduct of the British nation, and his letters to the department of foreign affairs contain many facts with regard to it, and many instances of the jealous and unfriendly feeling, which sprung from, and long survived, the misfortunes of her colonial conflict.

Of the personal character of the monarch, Mr. Jefferson's estimate is certainly not very high, and the account he gives of the conduct and dispositions of his son, the present king, as it agrees in the main with other accounts—as it was written solely for private and confidential information—and as it could be founded on no party or local views, may serve to confirm the similar relations current in those times.

"As the character of the Prince of Wales is becoming interesting, I have endeavoured to learn what it truly is. This is less difficult in his case, than in that of other persons of his rank, because he has taken no pains to hide himself from the world. The information I most rely on, is from a person here with whom I am intimate, who divides his time between Paris and London, an Englishman by birth, of truth, sagacity, and science. He is of a circle, when in London, which has had good opportunities of knowing the Prince; but he has, also, himself, had special occasions of verifying their information, by his own personal observation. He happened, when last in London, to be invited to a dinner of three persons. The Prince came by chance, and made the fourth. He ate half a leg of mutton; did not taste of small dishes, because small; drank Champagne and Burgundy as small beer during dinner, and Bordeaux after dinner, as the rest of the company. Upon the whole, he ate as much as the other three, and drank about two bottles of wine without seeming to feel it. My informant sat next him, and being till then unknown to the Prince, personally, (though not by character) and lately from France, the Prince confined his conversation almost entirely to him. Observing to the Prince that he spoke French without the least foreign accent, the Prince told him, that when very young, his father had put only French servants about him, and that it was to that circumstance he owed his pronunciation. He led him from this to give an account of his education, the total of which was the learning a little Latin. He has not a single element of Mathematics, of Natural or Moral Philosophy, or of any other science on earth, nor has the society he has kept been such as to supply the void

of education. It has been that of the lowest, the most illiterate and profligate persons of the kingdom, without choice of rank or mind, and with whom the subjects of conversation are only horses, or drinking-matches, and in terms the most vulgar. The young nobility who begin by associating with him, soon leave him, disgusted with the insupportable profligacy of his society; and Mr. Fox, who has been supposed his favourite, and not over-nice in the choice of company, would never keep his company habitually. In fact, he never associated with a man of sense. He has not a single idea of justice, morality, religion, or of the rights of men, or any anxiety for the opinion of the world. He carries that indifference for fame so far, that he would probably not be hurt were he to lose his throne, provided he could be assured of having always meat, drink, horses, and women. In the article of women, nevertheless, he is become more correct, since his connexion with Mrs. Fitzherbert, who is an honest and worthy woman: he is even less crapulous than he was. He had a fine person, but it is becoming coarse. He possesses good native common sense; is affable, polite, and very good-humoured. Saying to my informant, on another occasion, 'your friend, such a one, dined with me yesterday, and I made him damned drunk;' he replied, 'I am sorry for it; I had heard that your royal highness had left off drinking:' the Prince laughed, tapped him on the shoulder very good-naturedly, without saying a word, or ever after showing any displeasure. The Duke of York, who was for some time cried up as the prodigy of the family, is as profligate, and of less understanding. To these particular traits, from a man of sense and truth, it would be superfluous to add the general terms of praise or blame, in which he is spoken of by other persons, in whose impartiality and penetration I have less confidence. A sample is better than a description. For the peace of Europe, it is best that the king should give such gleamings of recovery, as would prevent the regent or his ministry from thinking themselves firm, and yet, that he should not recover."

During his residence in Europe, he also visited Holland, and his memoir embraces a brief but clear account of the fatal revolution, by which the prince of Orange made himself sovereign of that republic, so long and honourably independent. He also crossed the Alps, and travelled through Lombardy, though he did not extend his journey to the southern part of the peninsula. In returning to Paris, he visited all the principal seaports of the southern and western coasts of France, and made many and interesting observations with regard to the culture of the vine, olive, and rice, which were carefully communicated to his friends across the Atlantic; and he had reason to believe afterwards, that they had not failed to produce benefits, which, in time, will be of wide-extended utility.

When Mr. Jefferson reached Paris, he found that city in high fermentation from the early events of the revolution, and during the remainder of his stay in Europe, his attention was well and fully occupied in observing, as an eye-witness, the progress of the extraordinary occurrences, which from that time took place in rapid succession.

Simply as the representative of a foreign people, he might be expected to do this, but his situation as the minister of a nation, which was supposed to have given the example, and by many, even in this very example, to have laid a train for the subsequent changes, not only caused him to be more curious and anx-



ious himself, but made him an object of interest and attention to the actors in these new scenes. He was from circumstances much acquainted with the leading patriots of the national assembly, and as he came from a country which had passed successfully through a similar reformation, they were naturally disposed to seek his advice and place confidence in his opinions. It would have been affectation to deny that he looked with pleasure on a successful and beneficial change of the French government, not merely from the advantages it would bring to an oppressed nation, but as ensuring a general improvement in the condition of the people of Europe, ground to the dust as they were by the tyranny of their rulers. But beyond these wishes he did not deem it just or proper to go ; and on receiving, upon one occasion, an official invitation of the Archbishop of Bourdeaux to attend and assist at the deliberations of an important committee, he excused himself immediately, for the obvious reason, that his duties, as a public functionary, forbade him to interfere in the internal transactions of the country. He did not, however, consider himself restrained from urging upon his friends of the patriotic party, and especially upon his intimate and influential companion, Lafayette, the propriety, on repeated occasions, of immediate and seasonable compromise—of securing what was offered by the government, and thus, by degrees, gaining peaceably, what might be lost by grasping too much at once, or be won, as proved to be the case, if as much ever was afterwards won, at sacrifices dreadful beyond calculation. The following anecdote is a striking instance of the interest taken in Mr. Jefferson's opinions, to which we have alluded.

"I received one morning," he says, "a note from the Marquis de la Fayette, informing me, that he should bring a party of six or eight friends, to ask a dinner of me the next day. I assured him of their welcome. When they arrived, they were La Fayette himself, Duport, Barnave, Alexander Lameth, Blacon, Mounier, Maubourg, and Dagout. These were leading patriots, of honest but differing opinions, sensible of the necessity of effecting a coalition by mutual sacrifices, knowing each other, and not afraid, therefore, to unbosom themselves mutually. This last was a material principle in the selection. With this view, the Marquis had invited the conference, and had fixed the time and place inadvertently, as to the embarrassment under which it might place me. The cloth being removed, and wine set on the table, after the American manner, the Marquis introduced the objects of the conference, by summarily reminding them of the state of things in the Assembly, the course which the principles of the Constitution were taking, and the inevitable result, unless checked by more concord among the patriots themselves. He observed, that although he also had his opinion, he was ready to sacrifice it to that of his brethren of the same cause ; but that a common opinion must now be formed, or the aristocracy would carry every thing, and that, whatever they should now agree on, he, at the head of the National force, would maintain. The discussions began at the hour of four, and were continued till ten o'clock in the evening ; during which time, I was a silent witness to a coolness and candour of argument, unusual in the conflicts of political opinion ; to a logical reasoning, and chaste eloquence, disfigured by no gaudy tinsel of rhetoric or declamation, and truly worthy of being placed in pa-



rallel with the finest dialogues of antiquity, as handed to us by Xenophon, by Plato and Cicero. But duties of exculpation were now incumbent on me. I waited on Count Montmorin the next morning, and explained to him, with truth and candour, how it had happened that my house had been made the scene of conferences of such a character. He told me, he already knew every thing which had passed; that so far from taking umbrage at the use made of my house on that occasion, he earnestly wished I would habitually assist at such conferences, being sure I should be useful in moderating the warmer spirits, and promoting a wholesome and practicable reformation only. I told him, I knew too well the duties I owed to the King, to the nation, and to my own country, to take any part in councils concerning their internal government, and that I should persevere, with care, in the character of a neutral and passive spectator, with wishes only, and very sincere ones, that those measures might prevail which would be for the greatest good of the nation. I have no doubt, indeed, that this conference was previously known and approved by this honest minister, who was in confidence and communication with the patriots, and wished for a reasonable reform of the Constitution."

On Mr. Jefferson's first arrival in France, he had not failed to perceive, in the situation of the government, and the conduct of the thinking part of the community, strong indications of the necessity of a change, and a desire to arouse the nation from the sleep of despotism into which it was sunk. Through the medium of the press; in conversation and the intercourse of fashionable life; by the powerful and singular influence of men of letters then prevailing; these sentiments were disseminated with new and unheard of freedom. In all societies, male and female, politics had become the universal theme; the witty, the rich, the noble, and the gay, indulged in them, perhaps, as much from fashion as reflection; the young women joined the patriotic party as the mode; the young men naturally followed in their train. The excessive dissipation of the queen and court, the corrupt and exclusive power of a small portion of the nobility who controlled it, the abuses of the pension list, the incredible confusion of the finances, the exhausted treasury amid a load of taxes, had so alarmed and paralyzed the ministers, that they had no resource, but themselves to make the first step in the revolution, by calling in at once the assistance of a popular assembly. From this period, the tide swelled on irresistibly, bringing by degrees one improvement after another, washing away successively the long established mounds, which ages of submission on one hand, and tyranny on the other, had erected against liberty and right, but at last, unfortunately overwhelming, for a time, the landmarks which justice and reason had formed, as the necessary protection of human and social institutions. Nothing, indeed, is more extraordinary in the history of the French revolution, than the rapid and total subversion which was effected in the institutions of the country. In such events, it happens, for the most part, that there is rather a removal of individuals, a modification of existing systems, a return to previous rights claimed or ascertained, which have been infringed—but here it was a violent

change from one extreme to the other—the total destruction in theory and in practice, of the existing state of things—the building up of a new form of government from the very foundations—the establishment of the wildest republicanism on the ruins of the strictest despotism. Perhaps this arose from the fact, that there existed, in truth, but two classes of society, in regard, at least, to political institutions; the one very small in number and in actual power, who were the oppressors; the other embracing the strength, sinews, and resources of the nation, vast in numbers, but utterly trampled. There was, indeed, no intermediate body—no true aristocracy; that which existed, was merely such in name, and by its titles; but it possessed no real influence or control. This circumstance, placed, at the commencement of the struggle, the right to frame a new government, not in the hands of those who would merely have changed the form of oppression, but of the entire mass of the people themselves, who had never been accustomed, in fact, to the existence of any large, intermediate and powerful class, between them and the regal power; and who, consequently, in subverting or modifying that, looked only to a corresponding augmentation and security of their own rights. In this respect, the revolution of France is strongly contrasted with that of England, which was really a revolution of the nobility and landed aristocracy alone, bringing with it no great improvement in the popular institutions or privileges, and certainly leaving untouched, an immense mass of antiquated absurdity in laws and institutions, which a convulsion of more popular character, could not have failed to demolish, but which now seems to be regarded either as a vital or desirable part of the constitution, or as so closely interwoven with it by time, that the abolition might endanger the destruction of what it is deemed best to preserve at all hazards.

The residence of Mr. Jefferson in France, did not extend to that fatal period of the French revolution, when its atrocities drew down upon it the execration even of those who rejoiced at the rising of the day-star of liberty; and the copious details which his letters embrace, are therefore read with the more interest and pleasure. They contain anecdotes and descriptions of scenes at which he was himself present, written at the time, and will prove to the readers of these volumes, one of their most amusing and instructive portions. On them our limits do not permit us to dwell, and indeed, on a recent occasion, we were led to treat this subject so much at large, that its repetition might be deemed injudicious.\*

It will not, however, be uninteresting, to extract from these volumes the account Mr. Jefferson has given of several of the

\* Vol. I. Art. IX.

well-known historical personages of the period. They have at least the merit of having been sketched at the time, under circumstances of observation peculiarly favourable.

"The *Marquis de Lafayette*," he writes, "is a most valuable auxiliary to me. His zeal is unbounded, and his weight with those in power, great. His education having been merely military, commerce was an unknown field to him. But his good sense enabling him to comprehend perfectly whatever is explained to him, his agency has been very efficacious. He has a great deal of sound genius, is well remarked by the king, and rising in popularity. He has nothing against him but the suspicion of republican principles. I think he will one day be of the ministry. The *Count de Vergennes* is ill. The possibility of his recovery, renders it dangerous for us to express a doubt of it; but he is in danger. He is a great minister in European affairs, but has very imperfect ideas of our institutions, and no confidence in them. His devotion to the principles of pure despotism, renders him unaffectionate to our governments. But his fear of England makes him value us as a make weight. He is cool, reserved in political conversations, but free and familiar on other subjects, and a very attentive, agreeable person to do business with. It is impossible to have a clearer, better organized head; but age has chilled his heart." \* \* "The *Count de Vergennes*," he remarks in another place, "had the reputation, with the diplomatic corps, of being wary and slippery in his diplomatic intercourse; and so he might be, with those whom he knew to be slippery and double-faced themselves. As he saw that I had no indirect views, practised no subtleties, meddled in no intrigues, pursued no concealed object, I found him as frank, as honourable, as easy of access to reason, as any man with whom I had ever done business; and I must say the same for his successor, *Montmorin*, one of the most honest and worthy of human beings."

"It is a tremendous cloud, indeed, which hovers over this nation, and he at the helm (*Neckar*) has neither the courage nor skill necessary to weather it. Eloquence in a high degree, knowledge in matters of account, and order, are distinguishing traits in his character. Ambition is his first passion, virtue his second. He has not discovered that sublime truth, that a bold, unequivocal virtue is the best handmaid even to ambition, and would carry him further, in the end, than the temporising, wavering policy he pursues. His judgment is not of the first order, scarcely even of the second; his resolution frail; and upon the whole, it is rare to meet an instance, of a person so much below the reputation he has obtained."

"The king (*Louis XVI.*) loves business, economy, order, and justice, and wishes sincerely the good of his people; but he is irascible, rude, very limited in his understanding, and religious bordering on bigotry. He has no mistress, loves his queen, and is too much governed by her."

Of the queen, we cannot but believe Mr. Jefferson has drawn a portrait, at least in a personal point of view, somewhat too harsh. Her political opinions, conduct, and influence, are not perhaps exaggerated, and to them unfortunately are to be attributed, with too much justice, the rapid, unimpeded, and, to herself, most lamentable course of events, which a spirit less obdurate, might have restrained or turned to unmingled good. But there were traits of virtuous and lofty firmness, as well as of tenderness and affection in her character, which were more fully displayed in later scenes of her life, and which are confirmed in all the relations, since given to the world by those who saw her intimately and familiarly, that do not seem altogether compatible with the picture we are about to present. It should not be for-



gotten, that at the time of Mr. Jefferson's residence in France, the party opposed to Austria, which had arisen under the administration of Choiseul, and which had become more strong in that opposition from its connexion with Frederick and with Prussia, comprised the great proportion of the men of letters, and many of the patriotic leaders, with whom the most agreeable and natural associations of Mr. Jefferson were formed. The sketch, however, is evidently the deliberate opinion of one, whose general sentiments, and knowledge of facts, entitle all he says to regard; and it must be placed among that vast collection of contradictions of which all history is made up.

"Louis XVI. had a Queen of absolute sway over his weak mind, and timid virtue, and of a character, the reverse of his in all points. This angel, as gaudily painted in the rhapsodies of Burke, with some smartness of fancy, but no sound sense, was proud, disdainful of restraint, indignant at all obstacles to her will, eager in the pursuit of pleasure, and firm enough to hold to her desires, or perish in their wreck. Her inordinate gambling and dissipations, with those of the Count d'Artois, and others of her *clique*, had been a sensible item in the exhaustion of the treasury, which called into action the reforming hand of the nation; and her opposition to it, her inflexible perverseness, and dauntless spirit, led herself to the guillotine, drew the king on with her, and plunged the world into crimes and calamities which will for ever stain the pages of modern history. I have ever believed, that had there been no Queen, there would have been no revolution. No force would have been provoked, nor exercised. The King would have gone hand in hand with the wisdom of his sounder counsellors, who, guided by the increased lights of the age, wished only, with the same pace, to advance the principles of their social constitution. The deed which closed the mortal course of these sovereigns, I shall neither approve nor condemn. I am not prepared to say, that the first magistrate of a nation cannot commit treason against his country, or is unamenable to its punishment: nor yet, that where there is no written law, no regulated tribunal, there is not a law in our hearts, and a power in our hands, given for righteous employment in maintaining right, and redressing wrong. Of those who judged the King, many thought him wilfully criminal; many, that his existence would keep the nation in perpetual conflict with the horde of Kings, who would war against a regeneration which might come home to themselves, and that it were better that one should die than all. I should not have voted with this portion of the legislature. I should have shut up the Queen in a convent, putting harm out of her power, and placed the King in his station, investing him with limited powers, which, I verily believe, he would have honestly exercised, according to the measure of his understanding. In this way, no void would have been created, courting the usurpation of a military adventurer, nor occasion given for those enormities which demoralized the nations of the world, and destroyed, and is yet to destroy millions and millions of its inhabitants. There are three epochs in history, signalized by the total extinction of national morality. The first was of the successors of Alexander, not omitting himself: The next, the successors of the first Cæsar: The third, our own age. This was begun by the partition of Poland, followed by that of the treaty of Pilnitz; next the conflagration of Copenhagen; then the enormities of Bonaparte, partitioning the earth at his will, and devastating it with fire and sword; now the conspiracy of Kings, the successors of Bonaparte, blasphemously calling themselves the Holy Alliance, and treading in the footsteps of their incarcerated leader; not yet, indeed, usurping the government of other nations, avowedly and in detail, but controlling by their armies the forms in which they will permit them to be governed; and reserving in *petto*, the order and extent of the usurpations further meditated."

Thus regarding the situation and governments of Europe, it



may be well supposed that he formed no very advantageous opinion of the political condition of the old world, and that he looked upon the general fate of humanity there, as truly deplorable in comparison with that of his own more fortunate country. He saw all around him the truth of Voltaire's observation, that every man must be either the hammer or the anvil—the great mass of the people were suffering under physical and moral oppression, while those whom fortune had placed in a loftier sphere, sought in the constant restlessness and tumult of ambition, dissipation, pomp, vanity, and unceasing intrigues of politics and love, that excitement which formed a poor substitute for higher aims and more lasting pleasures. In literature and science indeed, the learned, the witty, and the eloquent men who will ever make that age remarkable, left far behind them the few scholars of the infant republics; but this was more than compensated by the wide diffusion of general knowledge through the whole mass of one community, while in the other, all but a small and favoured circle, were immersed in deep and general ignorance. Of fashionable life, we shall give his own pleasant and certainly not too flattering account, from a letter to our countrywoman Mrs. Bingham:—

“You are engaged to tell me, truly and honestly, whether you do not find the tranquil pleasures of America, preferable to the empty bustle of Paris. For to what does that bustle tend? At eleven o'clock, it is day, *chez madame*. The curtains are drawn. Propped on bolsters and pillows, and her head scratched into a little order, the bulletins of the sick are read, and the billets of the well. She writes to some of her acquaintance, and receives the visits of others. If the morning is not very thronged, she is able to get out and hobble round the cage of the Palais royal; but she must hobble quickly, for the *coiffeur's* turn is come; and a tremendous turn it is! Happy, if he does not make her arrive when dinner is half over! The torpidity of digestion a little passed, she flutters half an hour through the streets, by way of paying visits, and then to the spectacles. These finished, another half hour is devoted to dodging in and out of the doors of her very sincere friends, and away to supper. After supper, cards; and after cards, bed; to rise at noon the next day, and to tread, like a mill horse, the same trodden circle over again. Thus the days of life are consumed, one by one, without an object beyond the present moment; ever flying from the ennui of that, yet carrying it with us; eternally in pursuit of happiness, which keeps eternally before us. If death or bankruptcy happen to trip us out of the circle, it is matter for the buzz of the evening, and is completely forgotten by the next morning. In America, on the other hand, the society of your husband, the fond cares for the children, the arrangements of the house, the improvements of the grounds, fill every moment with a healthy and a useful activity. Every exertion is encouraging, because to present amusement, it joins the promise of some future good. The intervals of leisure are filled by the society of real friends, whose affections are not thinned to cob-web, by being spread over a thousand objects.”

Yet was not Mr. Jefferson insensible to those traits in the character of the French, which have thrown a charm over their nation—its manners, its society, its institutions, and its people; which long have made its cities the resort alike of those who seek for amusement or for wisdom; which have placed it first

in the scale of refinement, if not of intellect; which have given to its exploits, all the brilliant tints of gallantry and romance; which have made it the chosen abode, in modern times, of taste, of science, and of art; and imparted to the luxuries of life, that elegance and zest, which, if to be desired, are yet unattained by the other nations of the world. Though the low and sullen murmurs of the approaching storm, were heard while he yet remained there, the bursting of the tempest was delayed—the steps of palaces were still trodden by gallant nobles, who, in personal intercourse, seemed to forget the pride of place and of birth, in the suavity and kindness of their manners—the gilded drawing rooms, the glittering theatres, the gardens cooled by fountains, and adorned by statues, were still trodden by women, whose beauty and wit might seem to claim some pardon for their intrigues and crimes, and some hope that they might escape impending desolation—the bureaux were still filled by statesmen, who so tempered and arranged the details of diplomatic intercourse, so displayed, when occasion offered, a candid and even a generous spirit, that those at least, who were removed from the sphere of their designs, might look with less distrust or anxiety, on vast schemes of political ambition, which were meant to embrace all the destinies of the age—the institutions of learning were still occupied by that large and singular body of literary triflers, whose speculations and researches are now seldom extricated from the long series of volumes which contain their labours and their dreams, but whose conversation varied and amused the society, where it was eagerly welcomed and widely diffused.

From these scenes Mr. Jefferson did not part without regret; on these scenes he often looked back in the subsequent and different portion of his earthly journey; and to them he referred, not long before its termination, in language which betrays an impression vividly made, and still uneffaced.

"I cannot leave this great and good country," he says, after speaking of his residence in France, "without expressing my sense of its pre-eminence of character, among the nations of the earth. A more benevolent people I have never known, nor greater warmth and devotedness in their select friendships. Their kindness and accommodation to strangers is unparalleled, and the hospitality of Paris is beyond any thing I had conceived to be practicable in a large city. Their eminence, too, in science, the communicative dispositions of their scientific men, the politeness of the general manners, the ease and vivacity of their conversation, give a charm to their society, to be found no where else. In a comparison of this, with other countries, we have the proof of primacy, which was given to Themistocles, after the battle of Salamis. Every general voted to himself the first reward of valour, and the second to Themistocles. So, ask the travelled inhabitant of any nation, in what country on earth would you rather live?—Certainly, in my own, where are all my friends, my relations, and the earliest and sweetest affections and recollections of my life. Which would be your second choice? France."

The remaining portion of Mr. Jefferson's public life, is em-

braced in a period of nineteen years, during which he held successively, in the government of his own country, the high and honourable offices of secretary of state, vice president, and president of the United States. The history of this is so familiar, and indeed so many, now living, have been eye-witnesses of its events, that it is unnecessary to pursue the narrative of them in regular detail. We shall, therefore, prefer to select such prominent topics as are likely to excite more general interest, and to present the opinions of Mr. Jefferson with regard to them, so far as our prescribed limits will enable us to go. In these opinions, we do not affect to doubt, that much will be found from which many readers of these volumes will differ; much which they will be inclined to disapprove, or even to censure. Mr. Jefferson was the bold, able, and constant leader of a great political party, and as he was, in a remarkable degree, firm and open in the expression of his sentiments, they may be expected to excite a corresponding opposition. He who should enter minutely into the vindication or the refutation of these, would indeed be stirring the embers of a fierce conflagration, whose ashes are yet unquenched. Such we do not hold to be the duty of a reviewer, at least on an occasion wherein he desires to submit to his readers a general notice of the merits of an extensive work, and of the character of an able writer and illustrious man. Such a task must be more limited in its scope, while more extended in its space—it must embrace reasonings and details far too minute for the few pages which are here allotted, and it must necessarily occasion the omission of what may be fairly deemed of more various and lasting utility. While, therefore, we express in decided terms our admiration in general of the political services of Mr. Jefferson, we shall claim at present the privilege of confining ourselves very much to the work before us, and extracting such passages as display, in a striking point of view, the facts and opinions they embrace.

As Mr. Jefferson was absent from America, both during the session of the convention which formed the constitution, and while that act was under discussion in the several states, he had no opportunity to take part in its formation; his judgment therefore as to its merits was merely the result of his own opinions in the abstract, and his experience of the more imperfect system established by the articles of confederation. That experience had fully convinced him of the inefficacy of the old form, which, from possessing merely a requisitory power, could only carry into effect its measures through the medium of the state legislatures, each of them thus having in fact a complete negative; and which worked very disadvantageously in practice, from the want of a separation of the legislative, executive, and judiciary functions. He rejoiced, therefore, sin-



cerely, at the formation of the new constitution, and its ratification by the states. Of the great mass of it, also, he approved entirely; the consolidation of the government; the organization in three branches; the subdivision of the legislative branch; the happy compromise of interests between the large and small states, by the different manner of voting in the two houses; the voting by persons instead of states; the qualified negative on the laws given to the executive; and the direct power of taxation. There were points, however, which he disapproved, though of course yielding without hesitation to the will of the majority, whatever form it might think best to establish. He was desirous that a full and explicit bill of rights should be annexed to the constitution, to guard liberty against the legislature as well as the executive; that unrestrained exercise of religion, liberty of the press, uninterrupted security against unlawful imprisonment, trial by jury in civil as well as criminal cases, freedom from a permanent military power, and rotation in the executive office, should be all explicitly recognised and guaranteed. Most of these were afterwards provided for in separate amendments, proposed by the government and ratified by the states. It was deemed best to leave the right of habeas corpus to the discretion of Congress; and the question of the re-eligibility of the President, though not proposed or acted on formally, has received from the example of four officers in that high station, and the progress of public opinion, a decision, which may be almost considered as an established principle, any deviation from which would probably be opposed as a demonstration of ambitious views.

There was another amendment, however, not made, or apparently thought of, at the time, the omission of which Mr. Jefferson deemed of fatal consequence, as leaving uncrushed the germ that was to destroy the wise combination of national powers. The evil he so much feared was the entire irresponsibility of the judges, and their independence of the nation. In England, these officers were appointed and removed at pleasure by the crown, and it was of course highly desirable to make them independent of that power, under whose influence they had done so much in opposition to the popular rights; but in a government founded on the public will, this principle operates in an opposite direction, and against that will. It seemed, therefore, indispensable, that as all the other branches were responsible and subject to control, this body of men, liable not less than the others to errors—if not of intention, at least of judgment—should be restrained or corrected. The very principles of the constitution were those of limited powers, and if a body was formed under it whose acts could never be submitted to revision or change, these principles seemed to be directly violated. It is true, that less was to be feared from the usurpations of that body,



than either of the other component parts of the government, since it acts not alone, but in conjunction with them, and upon their measures ; yet it may still be doubted, whether circumstances might not arise, wherein, by uniting with the executive or legislative branches, powers might be usurped or exercised, which a different organization would have submitted, in cases of such emergency, to the only legitimate final arbiter, the people. The change of form which Mr. Jefferson would have preferred, in this respect, does not appear to be very clearly ascertained, though he would probably have suggested a renewal by the President and Senate at stated intervals—a plan certainly liable to great objection, since it violates, in some degree, a vital principle of the constitution, the independence of the different branches in regard to each other. But perhaps it would not have been difficult to devise some course by which the appointments of the judges might have been, from time to time, submitted to the people, and yet the changes be so made, on the system of rotation, as not to present any danger from the violence of temporary faction.

Taking this popular view of the constitution at the outset, Mr. Jefferson maintained it through his political career ; he opposed strongly those measures which he thought conflicted with it, and in the formation of foreign treaties, the arrangement of the public debts, the establishment of a national bank, he zealously contended for a strict adhesion to the powers actually conferred, and advocated an appeal to the people, by the submission of amendments, rather than the assumption of any thing not expressly granted by construction. He showed himself, too, a decided opponent to those trifling forms which had been adopted at the first establishment of the new government ; and in his personal conduct, and official intercourse, introduced that simplicity which has since been properly maintained. It is to be recollected, that when the first officers of the republic were chosen, they had no guide which they could follow for such usages, and they no doubt endeavoured to adopt those which should unite the dignity of their station with republican simplicity. Yet, as the management of these things was naturally left, by those on whom greater cares were pressing, to persons who loved to dwell on such insignificant details, a formality and ceremony were at first displayed, which would now appear truly ridiculous. The following anecdotes will exemplify our allusions :—

“When the President, (General Washington,) went to New-York, he resisted for three weeks the efforts to introduce levees. At length he yielded, and left it to Humphreys and some others to settle the forms. Accordingly, an antichamber and presence-room were provided, and when those who were to pay their court were assembled, the President set out, preceded by Humphreys. After passing through the antichamber, the door of the inner room was thrown

open, and Humphreys entered first, calling out with a loud voice, 'the President of the United States.' The President was so much disconcerted with it, that he did not recover it the whole time of the levee; and when the company was gone, he said to Humphreys, 'well, you have taken me in once, but by God you shall never take me in a second time.' \* \* \*

"Mr. Brown gives me the following specimen of the phrenzy which prevailed at New-York on the opening of the new government. At the first public ball which took place after the President's arrival there, Colonel Humphreys, Colonel W. S. Smith, and Mrs. Knox, were to arrange the ceremonials. These arrangements were as follows:—a sofa at the head of the room, raised on several steps, whereon the President and Mrs. Washington were to be seated. The gentlemen were to dance in swords. Each one, when going to dance, was to lead his partner to the foot of the sofa, make a low obeisance to the President and his lady, then go and dance; and, when done, bring his partner again to the foot of the sofa for new obeisances, and then retire to their chairs. It was to be understood, too, that gentlemen should be dressed in bags. Mrs. Knox contrived to come with the President, and to follow him and Mrs. Washington to their destination, and she had the design of forcing an invitation from the President to a seat on the sofa. She mounted up the steps after them unbidden, but unfortunately the wicked sofa was so short, that when the President and Mrs. Washington were seated, there was not room for a third person; she was obliged, therefore, to descend in the face of the company, and to sit where she could. In other respects, the ceremony was conducted rigorously according to the arrangements, and the President made to pass an evening which his good sense rendered a very miserable one to him."

In the system of foreign policy adopted by the United States, Mr. Jefferson laid down the great maxims, while at the head of the department of state; and it is surprising how few questions have since arisen, that were not at that time considered, at least, in principle. His residence abroad, at the first court of Europe, during a period when various negotiations occurred, embracing many of the most interesting points of international law—his long reflection and practical application of its abstract principles, gave to his opinions, on such subjects, that weight which was readily assigned to them by the President, a man whose clear and excellent sense, whose long tried patriotism, and whose lofty and virtuous spirit, never permitted him to sacrifice any interest of his own country, nor to infringe the rights of another. The great basis on which his views upon this subject rested, and which may be considered as the foundation, not merely of his successful and highly popular policy, but even of those acts which did not meet with such general approbation, from all classes of the community, was his determination to keep America aloof, as much as possible, from all interference with the politics and struggles of Europe, to defend her against unjustifiable aggressions, to pursue, on a system of honest neutrality, that commercial intercourse which was allowed by the laws, if not the usages of nations, but not to entangle her in their eternal conflicts about visionary principles with which she had nothing to do. He looked on the peaceful pursuits by nations, of the fair means of public prosperity, as a duty not less incumbent on them than on individuals; he deprecated whatever broke

in upon this; and he deemed war only justifiable when it was to avenge its loss, and to obtain its return. After the close of hostilities between ourselves and the English, and upon the general peace of Europe, in 1815, he thus wrote to his friend and old colleague in the troubles of European politics, Mr. Adams;—

“It is long since we have exchanged a letter, and yet what volumes might have been written on the occurrences even of the last three months. In the first place, peace, God bless it! has returned to put us all again into a course of lawful and laudable pursuits: a new trial of the Bourbons has proved to the world their incompetence to the functions of the station they have occupied: and the recall of the usurper has clothed him with the semblance of a legitimate autocrat. If adversity should have taught him wisdom, of which I have little expectation, he may yet render some service to mankind, by teaching the ancient dynasties that they can be changed for misrule, and by wearing down the maritime power of England to limitable and safe dimensions. But it is not possible he should love us; and of that our commerce had sufficient proofs during his power. Our military achievements, indeed, which he is capable of estimating, may in some degree moderate the effect of his aversions; and he may perhaps fancy that we are to become the natural enemies of England, as England herself has so steadily endeavoured to make us, and as some of our own over-zealous patriots would be willing to proclaim; and in this view, he may admit a cold toleration of some intercourse and commerce between the two nations. He has certainly had time to see the folly of turning the industry of France from the cultures for which nature has so highly endowed her, to those of sugar, cotton, tobacco, and others, which the same creative power has given to other climates: and, on the whole, if he can conquer the passions of his tyrannical soul, if he has understanding enough to pursue, from motives of interest, what no moral motives lead him to, the tranquil happiness and prosperity of his country, rather than a ravenous thirst for human blood, his return may become of more advantage than injury to us. And if again some great man could arise in England, who could see and correct the follies of his nation in their conduct as to us, and by exercising justice and comity towards ours, bring both into a state of temperate and useful friendship, it is possible we might thus attain the place we ought to occupy between these two nations, without being degraded to the condition of mere partisans of either.

“A little time will now inform us, whether France, within its proper limits, is big enough for its ruler, on the one hand, and whether, on the other, the allied powers are either wicked or foolish enough to attempt the forcing on the French, a ruler and government which they refuse? Whether they will risk their own thrones to re-establish that of the Bourbons? If this is attempted, and the European world again committed to war, will the jealousy of England at the commerce which neutrality will give us, induce her again to add us to the number of her enemies, rather than see us prosper in the pursuit of peace and industry? And have our commercial citizens merited from their country its encountering another war to protect their gambling enterprises? That the persons of our citizens shall be safe in freely traversing the ocean, that the transportation of our own produce, in our own vessels, to the markets of our choice, and the return to us of the articles we want for our own use, shall be unmolested, I hold to be fundamental, and that the gauntlet must be for ever hurled at him who questions it. But whether we shall engage in every war of Europe to protect the mere agency of our merchants and ship owners in carrying on the commerce of other nations, even were those merchants and ship owners to take the side of their country in the contest, instead of that of the enemy, is a question of deep and serious consideration, with which, however, you and I shall have nothing to do; so we will leave it to those whom it will concern.”

Of the most illustrious and celebrated men who appeared on the stage previous to and during Mr. Jefferson's administration,



these volumes abound with many anecdotes; much light is thrown upon their lives, their actions, and their sentiments; and much will hence be taken, from which future times will form an estimate of their character and services. Among them, Washington stands pre-eminent; and receives from the hand of one, who though long his sincere friend, cannot be classed among those bound to him by the enslaving ties of party spirit, that meed of admiration, of praise, and of regard, which every new record of cotemporary sentiment bestows on the father of his country. The virulence of politics, while both lived, endeavoured to destroy the friendship which these two great men had formed and strengthened in the revolutionary conflict; and the spirit of libel and personal abuse, which spread its fatal influence over so many writers at a subsequent period, invented a thousand calumnies on the subject; but these volumes fortunately contain authentic evidence to efface any lingering impression that may remain, and leave with the reader no ground for the painful emotions he would feel, could he believe that the intercourse of two men, so illustrious, and so beneficent to their country, was darkened by unkindness and duplicity.

His intercourse with his ancient friend Mr. Adams, was less fortunate and happy. By the influence of intriguing and interested partisans, by the peculiar circumstances of the political conflict in which they were opposed as leaders, or by the natural jealousy and distrust of the human character, during an interval of several years, all friendly intercourse between them ceased. Mr. Jefferson made several efforts to obviate this, which do not appear to have reached the knowledge of Mr. Adams; fortunately, however, many years before their death, the most perfect cordiality was restored, and the last of these volumes contains, in their correspondence, a source of deep gratification, and an affecting appeal to the sensibility of their countrymen.

Indeed, it is in these, and the other letters of Mr. Jefferson, written after his retirement from public office, that to us the greatest charm of this work exists; there is so much remembrance of the labours, and excitements of earlier days; so much living over past times in the pleasant, and somewhat pensive garrulity of age; so much clinging after old affections not yet chilled, and gathering again around him, what had been casually dropped in the bustling journey of life; such ardent desires to retain the attachments which yet remained, to renew those that had been weakened by accident and time, and to weave more strongly in his heart, the affections which were rapidly becoming more few; that we have turned to them again and again, and have entered fully into the feeling with which he continued, even to the last, to take up his pen in affectionate communion with his friends, though suffering severely from the infirmities



of age. "While writing to you," he says to Mr. Adams, "I lose the sense of these things in the recollection of ancient times, when youth and health made happiness out of every thing. I forget for a while the hoary winter of age, when we can think of nothing but how to keep ourselves warm, and how to get rid of our heavy hours, until the friendly hand of death shall rid us of all at once."

It is from this portion of his works too, that we obtain the best view of his general character and sentiments, which are poured out there with full and unaffected freedom; and while we regret that we must pass over so much, rapidly, and with such inadequate notice, we cannot better conclude, than by such extracts as may impress on our readers, more correctly and clearly, his peculiar personal traits. His habits and occupations, after his retirement from office enabled him to arrange them with more satisfaction and regularity, are best described in his own words, which we select from different portions of his correspondence.

"I live so much like other people, that I might refer to ordinary life as the history of my own. Like my friend Dr. Rush, I have lived temperately, eating little animal food, and that not as an aliment, so much as a condiment for the vegetables, which constitute my principal diet. I double, however, the Doctor's glass and a half of wine, and even treble it with a friend; but halve its effect by drinking the weak wines only. The ardent wines I cannot drink, nor do I use ardent spirits in any form. Malt liquors and cider are my table drinks, and my breakfast, like that also of my friend, is of tea and coffee. I have been blest with organs of digestion which accept and concoct, without ever murmuring, whatever the palate chooses to consign to them, and I have not yet lost a tooth by age. I was a hard student until I entered on the business of life, the duties of which leave no idle time to those disposed to fulfil them; and now, retired, and at the age of seventy-six, I am again a hard student. Indeed, my fondness for reading and study revolts me from the drudgery of letter writing; and a stiff wrist, the consequence of an early dislocation, makes writing both slow and painful. I am not so regular in my sleep as the Doctor says he was, devoting to it from five to eight hours, according as my company or the book I am reading interests me; and I never go to bed, without an hour, or half hour's previous reading of something moral, whereon to ruminate in the intervals of sleep. But whether I retire to bed early or late, I rise with the sun. I use spectacles at night, but not necessarily in the day, unless in reading small print. My hearing is distinct in particular conversation, but confused when several voices cross each other, which unfits me for the society of the table. I have been more fortunate than my friend in the article of health. So free from catarrhs, that I have not had one, (in the breast I mean,) on an average of eight or ten years through life. I ascribe this exemption partly to the habit of bathing my feet in cold water every morning, for sixty years past. A fever of more than twenty-four hours I have not had above two or three times in my life. A periodical headache has afflicted me occasionally, once, perhaps, in six or eight years, for two or three weeks at a time, which seems now to have left me. Retired at Monticello, in the bosom of my family, and surrounded by my books, I enjoy a repose to which I was long a stranger. My mornings are devoted to correspondence. From breakfast to dinner, I am in my shops, my garden, or on horseback among my farms; from dinner to dark, I give to society and recreation with my neighbours and friends; and from candle light to early bed-time, I read. My health is perfect; and my strength considerably reinforced by the activity of the course I pursue; perhaps it is as great as usually falls to the lot of one of my age. I talk of ploughs and harrows, seeding and harvesting, with my

neighbours, and of politics too, if they choose, with as little reserve as the rest of my fellow-citizens, and feel, at length, the blessing of being free to say and do what I please, without being responsible for it to any mortal. A part of my occupation, and by no means the least pleasing, is the direction of the studies of such young men as ask it. They place themselves in the neighbouring village, and have the use of my library and counsel, and make a part of my society. In advising the course of their reading, I endeavour to keep their attention fixed on the main objects of all science, the freedom and happiness of man. So that coming to bear a share in the councils and government of their country, they will keep ever in view the sole objects of all legitimate government. As to politics, of which I have taken final leave, I think little of them, and say less. I have given up newspapers in exchange for Tacitus and Thucydides, for Newton and Euclid, and I find myself much the happier. Sometimes, indeed, I look back to former occurrences, in remembrance of our old friends and fellow-labourers, who have fallen before us. Of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, I see now living, not more than half a dozen north of the Potomac, and, on this side, myself alone. You (Mr. Adams) and I have been wonderfully spared, and myself with remarkable health, and a considerable activity of body and mind. I am on horseback three or four hours of every day; visit three or four times a year a possession I have ninety miles distant, performing the winter journey on horseback. I walk little, however; a single mile being too much for me; and I live in the midst of my grand children, one of whom has lately promoted me to be a great grandfather. I have heard with pleasure that you also retain good health, and a greater power of exercise in walking than I do. But I would rather have heard this from yourself, and that, writing a letter like mine, full of egotisms, and of details of your health, your habits, occupations and enjoyments, I should have the pleasure of knowing, that in the race of life, you do not keep, in its physical decline, the same distance ahead of me, which you have done in political honours and achievements. No circumstances have lessened the interest I feel in these particulars respecting yourself; none have suspended for one moment my sincere esteem for you, and I now salute you with unchanged affection and respect."

In temper Mr. Jefferson was to a remarkable degree placid, gentle, calm, and reflective—looking on the world around with a benevolent and philosophic eye—anticipating in the future more of happiness than of sorrow—"steering his bark with hope in the prow, and leaving fear astern"—content to balance the misfortunes, incident to the most successful life, by what he could fairly set off against them in the opposite page of the account—and believing the perfection of the moral character to consist, not in a stoical apathy, so often and hypocritically vaunted, but in a just equilibrium of all the passions. He was cheerful without much vivacity; contemplative perhaps rather than imaginative; and throughout these long volumes, while there are innumerable instances of all the more amiable and gentle traits, there is scarcely an example of humour or wit—scarcely an anecdote which will be repeated or remembered for its point. His charity was unostentatious but bountiful; a certain portion of his revenue was regularly applied to maintain and extend it; and those, who, since his death, have travelled in that part of Virginia where he resided, cannot have failed to be struck with the repeated, the grateful, and the unpremeditated tributes which are every where paid to his memory—the constant appeal to his opinions, the numerous stories of his benevolence and kindness, the careful

remembrance and relation of every anecdote affecting his person and his actions. In his family he was hospitable to a degree which caused poverty to throw some dark shadows over the evening of his life; he was kind to his domestics, by whom it was remarked, that no instance had ever occurred in which he had lost his temper; he was warmly affectionate and devoted to his children and relatives, whom he loved to assemble around him; and that he bitterly felt the blow which deprived him of one of his two children, is seen in the following touching letter to a friend:—

“My loss is great indeed. Others may lose of their abundance, but I, of my want, have lost even the half of all I had. My evening prospects now hang on the slender thread of a single life. Perhaps I may be destined to see even this last cord of parental affection broken! The hope with which I had looked forward to the moment, when, resigning public cares to younger hands, I was to retire to that domestic comfort from which the last great step is to be taken, is fearfully blighted. When you and I look back on the country over which we have passed, what a field of slaughter does it exhibit! Where are all the friends who entered it with us, under all the inspiring energies of health and hope? As if pursued by the havoc of war, they are strewn by the way, some earlier, some later, and scarce a few stragglers remain to count the numbers fallen, and to mark yet, by their own fall, the last footsteps of their party. Is it a desirable thing to bear up through the heat of the action, to witness the death of all our companions, and merely be the last victim? I doubt it. We have, however, the traveller's consolation. Every step shortens the distance we have to go; the end of our journey is in sight, the bed wherein we are to rest, and to rise in the midst of the friends we have lost. ‘We sorrow not then as others who have no hope;’ but look forward to the day which ‘joins us to the great majority.’ But whatever is to be our destiny, wisdom, as well as duty, dictates that we should acquiesce in the will of him whose it is to give and take away, and be contented in the enjoyment of those who are still permitted to be with us. Of those connected by blood, the number does not depend on us. But friends we have, if we have merited them. Those of our earliest years stand nearest in our affections. But in this too, you and I have been unlucky. Of our college friends (and they are the dearest) how few have stood with us in the great political questions which have agitated our country: and these were of a nature to justify agitation. I did not believe the Lilliputian fetters of that day strong enough to have bound so many.”

The trait, however, by which the character of Mr. Jefferson is most distinguished, appears to us to be firm and undeviating resolution. Forming his judgments after the best reflection that he could bestow, and after the fullest information he could collect, he adhered strongly to them. This no doubt was sometimes the cause of error, but it was also the foundation of that political and moral firmness, which may be traced from the very first moment of his entering upon life, until its close. It led also to the open and unhesitating declaration of his sentiments, even when they were such as a more prudent or more worldly man might have been desirous to suppress. This will be seen in the present volumes, especially where he details the views and principles of the political party to which he was opposed, and the leaders of which he believed to have de-



signs unfavourable to the liberties of their country; and also where he alludes to the influence of the clergy, and the sway of religious belief, which he thought at variance with the principles of conscientious freedom at the foundation of our institutions, and those deductions of unbiassed reason which flow from the deliberate exercise of the human intellect. However deeply some of these opinions may be deplored, and however much it may be regretted that his studies, his reflections, and his long intercourse with mankind, should have led him to results so different from those which have been generally formed by the thoughtful, the learned, the pious, and the wise; none can fail to admire his unaffected candour, his deliberate exercise of judgment, his liberality of sentiment towards others, and his uniform opposition to any interference with their doctrines. Nor will a tribute less sincere be paid to the purity and correctness of his moral sentiments, which are thus beautifully summed up in a letter written to a young person not long before his death;

"This letter will, to you, be as one from the dead. The writer will be in the grave before you can weigh its counsels. Your affectionate and excellent father, has requested that I would address to you something which might possibly have a favourable influence on the course of life you have to run, and I too, as a namesake, feel an interest in that course. Few words will be necessary, with good dispositions on your part. Adore God. Reverence and cherish your parents. Love your neighbour as yourself, and your country more than yourself. Be just. Be true. Murmur not at the ways of Providence. So shall the life into which you have entered, be the portal to one of eternal and ineffable bliss. And if to the dead it is permitted to care for the things of this world, every action of your life will be under my regard. Farewell."



## POSTSCRIPT.

We received the following communication from the author of the article on the Public Domain, too late to use it in the body of the article. We therefore print it as a postscript to the Number, in order that his object may be accomplished, as far as is now practicable:—

“In the article which I had the pleasure of sending to you some time since, I omitted, I believe, to refer to an authority which is important to that part of the argument in which I have touched upon the claim set up by some of the states to the *title* of the land within their respective limits.

“Immediately after the cession, by Virginia, to the United States, of all her lands lying between the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, an ordinance was passed by Congress, entitled, ‘an ordinance for the government of the territory of the United States north-west of the river Ohio,’ which contains these words:— ‘The inhabitants and settlers in the said territory shall be subject to pay a part of the Federal debts, contracted or to be contracted, and a proportional part of the expenses of government, to be apportioned on them by Congress, according to the common rule and measure, by which apportionments thereof shall be made on the other states; and the taxes for paying their proportion, shall be laid and levied, by the authority and direction of the legislatures of the district or districts, or new states, as in the original states, within the time agreed upon by the United States in Congress assembled. The legislatures of these districts, or *new states*, shall never interfere in the *primary disposal* of the soil by the United States, in Congress assembled, nor with any regulations Congress may find necessary for securing the title in such soil to *bona fide* purchasers. No tax shall be imposed on lands the property of the United States.’

“This ordinance was passed previous to the adoption of the Federal Constitution; and, of course, the words used in that instrument in relation to the *territory* and *property* of the United States, must have reference to it. It is the paramount law in relation to the subject matter, having been passed in pursuance of the express stipulations of the treaty of cession between Virginia and the United States. It is, therefore, always to be referred to, in construing the constitutions of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, or the acts of Congress relating to the admission of those states; and is particularly important, as showing an undisputed claim on the part of the confederated states, to the right of

holding land in their federative capacity, and exercising over that land the powers of sovereignty. These powers, it will be perceived, extend not merely to the *primary disposal* of the soil, but to the right of Congress to pass laws to secure titles, and even to the exclusion of the power to tax, on the part of the states respectively.

"In the article I sent you, I made use of this argument, but quoted, in support of it, an authority sufficiently strong, but not so explicit in terms.

"I am not certain whether I did not hint an opinion, that the new states might tax the public lands within their respective limits. If I did, it was an oversight—as you will see from the above quotation and remarks. I am not prepared to say, that they *have not* that power, even in the teeth of the ordinance—but it is not necessary to stir that question."

## INDEX.

### A.

*Adams*, President John, character of, by Thomas Jefferson, 505—letter to on the return of peace, 519.  
*Adams*, Rev. John, notice of, 248.  
*Adams*, John Quincy, anecdotes of, 477, 478.  
*Adams*, Samuel, character of, by Thomas Jefferson, 505.  
*Alfarabius*, Encyclopædia of, 332.  
*Algerines*, depredations of, 401.  
*Alstedius*, Professor, notice of, 332.  
*American Poetry*, Specimens of, &c. by Samuel Kettell, reviewed, 240, &c.—Benjamin Thompson, 244—Cotton Mather, 245—Roger Wolcott, 246—Michael Wigglesworth, Benjamin Coleman, Mrs. Turell, Rev. John Adams, 247—John Hawkins, 248—James Ralph, 249—Thomas Godfrey, Nathaniel Evans, *ib.*—Dr. Byles, Dr. Franklin, John Trumbull, 251—Mr. Pierpont, 253—John S. C. Brainard, Mr. Hillhouse, Dr. Dwight, Mrs. Sigourney, John Neal, 255—Dr. Percival, 256—Mrs. Bleecker, Joseph Hutton, Frederick S. Hill, George Richards, Thomas Dawes, William Ray, Enoch Lincoln, Mr. Gilman, 259—St. George Tucker, Joseph Hopkinson, Francis Hopkinson, Philip Freneau, 260.  
*Arabian Tales*, 283, &c.—Oriental literature overrated, 284—translations of, 285—literature of Arabia previous to the reign of al Mansur, 286—improvements under him and succeeding caliphs, *ib.*—causes which contributed to form the character of the Arabians, 286, 287—testimony of Sir William Jones, 288—nature of the poetry which preceded Mohammed, *ib.*—literature of the Arabs after the conquest of Persia and Syria, 289—al Mansur gave the first impulse to Saracen literature, 290—encouraged by Haroun and al Mamon, *ib.*—Arabic poetry, 291—Ode to Spring, by Mesih, translated by Sir William Jones, 292—Anacreontic by Abd

Absalam Ben Ragban, translated by professor Carlyle, 293—‘To a Lady Weeping,’ by Ebn Alrami, *ib.*—incidents of Sinbad the Sailor shown by Mr. Hole to be drawn from Greek writers, 295, 296—doctrines of Mohammedanism, 297—superstitions, 299—301—Arabian Nights Entertainments, with additional tales, translated by Jonathan Scott, LL. D. notice of, 301—303.

*Arago*, M., his Notice Sur les Machines à Vapeur, notice of, 408.

*Arts and Sciences*, notice of Dictionaries of:—Barrow’s, 334—Owen’s, *ib.*—Rev. Henry Croker, Dr. Thomas Williams and Samuel Clark’s, *ib.*

### B.

*Bakewell*, Robert, his Introduction to Geology, &c. reviewed, 73—103.

*Barrow*, his Universal History of Arts and Sciences, notice of, 334.

*Bell*, Mr. a workman of Fulton’s, the first successful constructor of steamboats in Great Britain, 435.

*Betterton*, the comedian, his endeavours to collect memorials of Shakspeare, 25.

*Bleecker*, Mrs. her poetry, notice of, 259.

*Blumenbach*, Professor, account of, 196.

*Bolivar*, his testimonials to the worth of General Miller, 15—train of events which placed him at the head of Colombia, 15—22.

*Boswell*, James, his arrangement of the last edition of Malone’s Shakspeare, 31.

*Brainard*, John S. C., notice of, 255.

### C.

*Canterae*, general, anecdote of, 8.

*Carr*, Mr. notice of, by Thomas Jefferson, 504.

*Chambers*, Mr. his Cyclopædia, notice of, 333, 334, &c.

*Clark, Samuel*, his Dictionary of Arts and Sciences, notice of, 334.

*Cochrane*, Lord, anecdote of, 4.

*Codification*, 104—the science of the law, 104, 105—a liberal view of the whole science considered, in England, incompatible with a profound knowledge of its parts, 107—a spirit of inquiry awakened, 108—propositions of Messrs. Hammond and Twiss, 109—Mr. Uniacke, *ib.*—Mr. Humphreys, 110—Mr. Sugden, *ib.*—Dr. Reddie, 111—Mr. Cooper, 112—Mr. Park's Contre-Projet, *ib.*—his liberal notice of Messrs. Duponceau, Ingersoll, and other American jurists, 113, 114.

*Colombia*, retrospect of the changes in, 15-22—tranquillity in 1825, 16—General Paez placed in armed opposition to government, *ib.*—Bolívar sequesters the constitutional liberty, 17—convention at Ocaña, 19—train of events that placed Bolívar irresponsibly at the head of affairs, 20-22.

*Cooper, C. P. Esq.* his account of the abuses of the English Chancery Courts, notice of, 112.

*Croker*, Rev. Henry, his Dictionary of Arts and Sciences, notice of, 334.

#### D.

*D'Alembert*, his connexion with the French Encyclopédie, 339, &c.

*Diderot*, M. his connexion with the French Encyclopédie, 338, &c.

*Diplomacy of the United States*, &c. by Theodore Lyman, reviewed, 172, &c.—hesitation of France towards this government until the surrender of Burgoyne, 173—John Jay's embarrassments in Spain, and refusal of that government to accredit him, 174, 175—refusal of Germany and Russia to receive our envoys, 175—treatment of Arthur Lee at Berlin, *ib.*—Treaty of Commerce with France, 176—offer to guaranty the Floridas to Spain, 177—Treaty of Alliance with France, 178—difficulties under it, 179—Congress declares itself free from its stipulations, and consequent rupture, *ib.*—Convention of 1800, 180—claims of citizens for illegal captures on their own government, *ib.*—compensation under Jay's Treaty with England, 181—under Convention of 1800 with

France, 182—Louisiana treaty, *ib.*—Florida treaty, 183, 184—instructions to Monroe and Livingston, 186—Congress at Panama, 187.

*Domain (The Public) of the United States*, 263—causes which have led to the rapid increase of the Western states, 263-265—steam-boats, 266—the West destined to have a majority in Congress, 267—title of the United States to the public lands, 268—cessions made by individual states to the United States, 268, 269—right obtained from the Indians, 270—from foreign powers, *ib.*—reasons for and against state claims, 271-273—policy of the United States in the disposal of the public domain, 273-283.

*Drake*, Nathan, his Memorials of Shakespeare, reviewed, 22-55. See *Shakespeare*.

*Dwight*, Henry E. his travels in Germany, reviewed, 189, &c. See *Germany*.

#### E.

*Eichhorn*, Professor, description of, 196-198.

*Education*, its estimation at Greece and Rome, 145-146—objections to learning considered, 146-148—intolerance in colleges and schools of learning in England, 149—in the United States, *ib.*—elementary education under the administration of the church, 150—improvements of the eighteenth century, *ib.*—mutual instruction, 151—University of Paris, 151-153—plan of education adopted in 1795 in France, 155—in 1808, *ib.*—Royal University, and education generally in France, 155-162—in the United States, 163, &c.

*Encyclopædias*;—Encyclopædia Americana, &c., reviewed, 331, &c.—Pliny's Natural History the earliest attempt at an Encyclopædia, 332—Encyclopædia of Alfarabius, *ib.*—of Alstedius, *ib.*—Lexicon Technicum of Dr. Harris, *ib.*—Mr. Chambers's Cyclopædia, 333, 334—Barrow's Universal Dictionary of Arts and Sciences; Owen's Dictionary of Arts and Sciences; Complete Dictionary of Arts and Sciences, by the Rev. Henry Croker, Dr. Thomas Williams, and Mr. Samuel Clark, 334—Mr. Chambers's work translated into Italian; it was



the basis of the French Encyclopædia, *ib.*—curious history of the Encyclopédie, 335, &c.—notice of its contributors, Diderot, 338—D'Alembert, 339—L'Abbé de Prades, 340—the Encyclopédie a vehicle for slanderous attacks, 341—the articles mutilated by the publishers, 342—Prussian Encyclopædia proposed by Professor Formey, 346—Encyclopædia Britannica 346, 347—republished in Philadelphia, 347—New Edinburgh Encyclopædia, 348—American edition of Dr. Rees's Cyclopædia, *ib.*—Dictionary for Conversation, and Gazettes, by Hubner, 349—different editions and improvements, 351, 352—American edition, 351—commendations of Professors Ticknor and Everett, 353—extracts, with notice of improvements, 354–360.

*Erving*, George Washington, Esq. his letter descriptive of a visit to San Marino, 456–467.

*Evans*, Oliver, his Steam Engineer's Guide, notice of, 408—his steam-engines, 426.

*Everett*, Professor, his commendation of the Encyclopædia Americana, 353.

## F.

*Fico*, Melchior Del, his history of the Republic of San Marino, notice of, 455.

*Fitch*, Mr. his steam-boat the first on the Delaware, 432.

*Formey*, Professor, his proposition for a Prussian Encyclopædia, 346.

*Franklin*, Dr. Benjamin, notice of, 505—apologue of, on the disposition of men to divide into parties, 501.

*Fredgold*, T. his steam-engine, notice of, 408.

*Freneau*, Philip, notice of, 260.

*Fulton*, Robert, reasons for considering, at the head of those who have applied steam to the propelling of boats, 431.

## G.

*Galland*, M. his translation of the Arabian Nights Entertainments, notice of, 285.

*Galloway*, Elijah, his history of the steam-engine, notice of, 408.

*Garay*, Blasco de, his application of steam to propelling vessels, 416.

*Genet*, the French minister, his attempt to urge the western citizens to the invasion of the Spanish colonies, 395–397.

*Geology*, An introduction to, &c., by Robert Bakewell, edited by Professor Silliman, reviewed, 73, &c.—importance of geology, 73–80—analysis of, and commentaries on Bakewell's work, 80–103—Professor Silliman's additions, 103, 104.

*Germany*, Travels in, &c. by Henry E. Dwight, A. M., reviewed, 189, &c. commendation of the work, 190—riotous conduct of the students of Gottingen and Berlin overrated, *ib.*—Russel and de Stael's works on Germany, 191—account of Professor Thiebaut, 194—Voss, 195—Blumenbach, 196—Eichhorn, 196–198—Tieck, (poet,) 199—Goethe, 199–201—Professor Gesenius, *ib.*—Spohn, 202—pursuit of letters favourable to longevity, 203—examples, 204–207—Professor Hermann, 208–209—Wolf, 209–211—political aspect of Germany, 212–213—religious history of Germany, 214.

*Gesenius*, Professor, account of, 201, 202.

*Gibraltar*, description of, 225.

*Godfrey*, Thomas, notice of, with extract from his Prospect of Peace, 250.

*Goethe*, the German poet, some account of, 199–201.

*Gurney*, his steam-carriage, notice of, 428.

## H.

*Hammond*, Mr. his project of reform in law, 109.

*Hanmer*, Sir Thomas, his annotations on Shakspeare, 26.

*Harris*, Dr. his Lexicon Technicum, notice of, 332.

*Henry*, Patrick, notice of, by Thomas Jefferson, 504.

*Hermann*, Professor, description of, 208, 209.

*Hill*, F. S., notice of, 259.

*Hillhouse*, Mr. notice of, 255.

*Hole*, Mr. his remarks upon the story of Sinbad the sailor, notice of, 295, 296.

*Hopkinson*, Joseph, notice of, 260.

*Hubner*, his dictionary for conversations and gazettes, notice of, 349.

*Hulls*, Jonathan, his attempt to propel vessels by steam, 432.

*Humphreys*, James, esq. his outlines of a reform in English Law, 110.  
*Hutton*, Joseph, notice of, 259.

## J.

*Jackson*, General, his reception of Lafayette, 490.  
*Jay*, John, his embarrassments as minister to Spain, &c. 174—refusal of that government to accredit him, *ib.*—seventh article of his treaty with England, 181—reception and negotiations at Madrid, 385, 386.  
*Jefferson*, Thomas, Memoir of, &c. edited by Thomas Jefferson Randolph, reviewed, 494—preliminary observations, 495, 496—his early part in politics, 497—debate on the Declaration of Independence, 498—alterations in it merely verbal, 499—why some were permitted to sign who were not present on the 4th of July, 500—disposition of men to split into parties, illustrated by Dr. Franklin in an apologue, 501—bill introduced by Jefferson to prevent the importation of slaves, 502—his notice of George Wythe, 503—of Messrs. Pendleton, Henry, Carr, Madison, and Dr. Franklin, 504—Samuel Adams and John Adams, 505—Prince of Wales, 506—anecdote of Lafayette and other French patriots, 508—notice of Lafayette, Count de Vergennes, Neckar, Louis XVI, 511—his queen, 512—fashionable life at Paris, 513—tribute of grateful remembrance to France, 514—formality and ceremony introduced at the establishment of the new American government, 517—letter to John Adams on the return of Peace, 519—Jefferson's personal traits, 521—touching extract of a letter on the death of one of his children, 523.  
*Johnson*, Dr. David, his general view of the present system of public education in France, &c. reviewed, 145, &c. See *Education*.  
*Johnson*, Dr. Samuel, his commentaries on Shakspeare, and qualifications for the task, 26—29—connexion with George Steevens, 29.  
*Jones*, George, his sketches of Naval Life, &c. reviewed, 216, &c.  
*Jones*, Sir William, his testimony to the character of the Arabians, 288—his translation of an Ode to Spring, 292

—letter to Arthur Lee, extract from, 454.  
*Jouffroy*, Marquis de, his attempt to propel vessels by steam, 432.

## K.

*Kettell*, Samuel, his specimens of American Poetry, &c. reviewed, 240, &c. See *American Poetry*.

## L.

*Lafayette in America*, by A. Levasseur, reviewed, 467—preliminary observations, 468, 469—arrival of the Cadmus at New-York, 470—reception of the general, 471—route to Boston, *ib.*—visit to John Adams, 472—reception at Concord, Newburyport, and Portsmouth, 473—at Hartford, and on his return, at New-York, 474—excursion up the North River, *ib.*—New-York ladies, 475—route through New-Jersey to Philadelphia, 476—anecdotes of John Q. Adams, 477, 478—Baltimore, 478—Washington, Norfolk, Monticello, Montpelier, 479—Negro Slavery, 480—election of John Q. Adams, 481, 482—anecdote, 483—reception in North and South Carolina, *ib.*—Savannah, 484—reception by the Creek Indians, 485, 486—at Mobile, 486—New-Orleans, 487—incident at Natchez, *ib.*—the Mississippi, St. Louis, Kaskaskia, 488—interesting occurrence, Indian Mary, 489—reception at Nashville, and visit to Gen. Jackson, 490—wreck of the steam-boat on board which the general was, 491—taken by another steam-boat to Louisville, *ib.*—return to Boston, and celebration of the battle of Bunker's Hill, 492—sketch of his course through America and back to Havre, 493—present of the midshipmen of the Brandywine to Lafayette, *ib.*  
*Lafayette*, Marquis de, notice of, by Thomas Jefferson, 511.  
*La Harpe*, his accounts of the French Encyclopédie, reference to, 335, &c.  
*Lands*, The Public. See *Domain of the United States*, 263, &c.  
*Lardner*, Dr. Dionysius, his lectures on the steam-engine, notice of, 408.  
*Latin Studies*:—importance of classical studies, 303, 304—the science of

- philology has advanced within twenty or thirty years, 305—the study of the Latin language must be thorough, 306—course of study recommended, 307–331.
- Lee*, Arthur, treatment of at the court of Berlin, 175—Life of, &c. by R. H. Lee, 438, &c.—family of, birth and education, 440—graduates at Edinburgh; commences practice in Virginia; returns to England and advocates the American cause; has an amicable discussion with Junius, *ib.*—enters the literary society of London, 441—commences the practice of the law, 442—appointed agent of the Massachusetts assembly, *ib.*—his thoughts on American freedom prior to the revolution, 443—on stopping importations from England, 444—appointed correspondent of the Secret Committee of Congress, 445—labours in that service, 446, 447—procures stores for Virginia, 448—commissioner to Spain and Prussia, *ib.*—returns to America, 450—sent to the Virginia Assembly; to Congress; and one of a delegation to treat with the Indians, *ib.*—called to the board of Treasury, 451—his sentiments on wedded love, *ib.*—his character, *ib.*—extracts from his letters, 452–455.
- Lee*, Richard Henry, his life of Arthur Lee, reviewed, 438, &c. See *Lee*, Arthur.
- Leupold*, his high pressure steam-engine, 425.
- Levasseur*, A. his Lafayette in America, reviewed, 467, &c. See *Lafayette in America*.
- Lieber*, Francis, and E. Wigglesworth, their Encyclopædia Americana, reviewed, 331, &c.
- Livingston*, Chancellor, his exertions for perfecting steam-engines, 433—associates with Fulton, 434.
- Louis XVI.* notice of, by Thomas Jefferson, 511—his queen, 512.
- Lyman*, Theodore, his diplomacy of the United States, reviewed, 172, &c. See *Diplomacy*.
- M.
- Madison*, James, notice of, by Thomas Jefferson, 504.
- Malone*, Mr. his commentaries on Shakespeare, 30—the last edition published under the auspices of Boswell, 31.
- Mather*, Cotton, notice of, 245.
- Miller*, Mr. his experiments on steam-engines, 433.
- Miller*, John, his memoirs of General William Miller, reviewed, 1–22. See *Miller*, general William.
- Miller*, General William, memoirs of, in the service of the Republic of Peru, by John Miller, reviewed, 1–22—birth, military services, and arrival at Buenos Ayres, 2—receives a captain's commission, joins San Martin, and is in the attack at Cancharayada, 3—anecdote of Lord Cochrane, 4—Miller advanced to a majority; is scorched by the explosion of a laboratory; wounded at Pisco; narrowly escapes at Valdivia, and is desperately wounded at Chiloe, *ib.*—advanced to a lieutenant-colonelcy, 5—singular good fortune, *ib.*—anecdote of the spirit of the republican soldiery, *ib.*—commands at Arica, re-occupies Pisco, takes Ica, and with the rank of colonel takes command of a civil and military district, 6—is appointed general of brigade, 7—critical propensities of the mulattoes of Lima, *ib.*—anecdote of an Italian, *ib.*—anecdote of Gen. Canterac, 8—description of Peru, *ib.*—General Miller made commandant general of the Peruvian cavalry, 9—difficulties of the army in crossing the Andes, *ib.*—General Necocha, being wounded at the affair at Junin, the command devolves on Miller, 10—battle of Ayacucho, 12—appointed prefect of the departments of Puno and Potosi, 13—returns to Europe, *ib.*—climate of Upper Peru, 14—Bolivar's testimony to Miller's services, 15—retrospect of the changes which have occurred in Colombia, 15–22.
- Minerva*, temple of, account of, 237.
- N.
- Naval Life*, sketches of, &c. by a civilian, reviewed, 216. &c.—author George Jones, 217—his first night on ship-board, 218—time and movements of the crew, 219, 220—loosing sails by signal in squadron, 221—corporeal punishments, 222–224—anecdote of Nelson, 225—Gibraltar, *ib.*—Algiers, 226—Smyrna, 227—individual character of the Turks, 227,

228—costume, 229—amusements, 230—respect to dogs, *ib.*—vehicles, 231—Constantinople, 232—Sultan Mahmoud, *ib.*—mosque of Sultan Achmet, 233—plain of Troy, 234—attack on Ipsara, 235—the Cyclades, 236—grotto of Antiparos, *ib.*—temple of Minerva, 237—Athens, *ib.*—Corinth, 238—Argos, 239.

*Neal*, John, notice of, 255.

*Nelson*, Lord, anecdote of, 225.

*Newcomen*, his steam-engine, description of, 418, 419.

## O.

*Owen*, his Dictionary of Arts and Sciences, notices of, 334.

## P.

*Paez*, General, his armed opposition to government in Venezuela, 16—continued in command by Bolivar, 18.

*Papin*, French claimant to the invention of steam-engines, 413.

*Park*, John James, Esq. his Contre-Projet to the Humphreysian Code, &c. reviewed, 104–116.

*Pendleton*, Mr. notice of, 504.

*Percival*, Dr. notice of, 256.

*Pierpont*, Mr. notice of, 253.

*Pitkin*, Timothy, his History of the United States, &c. reviewed, 378, &c. —colonial rights, 380, 381—attempt to destroy the charters of the colonies and annex them to the crown, 382—condition and character of the colonists mistaken in Great Britain, 383—battle of Lexington, 384—Jay's reception and negotiations at Madrid, 385, 386—Constitution of the United States, and the blessings enjoyed under it, 387—ratio of representation, 391—Washington's exercise of the *veto*, 392—declaration of neutrality between the two belligerents, 394—Genet's attempt to urge the Western citizens to invade the Spanish provinces, 395–397—insurrection in Pennsylvania, 397, 398—depredations of the Algerines, 401—arrogant and selfish conduct of Great Britain, 403.

*Pliny*, his Natural History the earliest attempt at an Encyclopædia, 332.

*Pope*, Alexander, his edition of Shakspeare, 25.

*Poplars*, the first cultivators of on the

plains of the Rio de la Plata exempted from taxation as public benefactors, 3.

*Prades*, L'Abbé de, his connexion with the French Encyclopédie, 340.

## R.

*Ralph*, James, notice of, 249.

*Randolph*, Thomas Jefferson, his Memoir, &c. of Thomas Jefferson, reviewed, 494, &c. See *Jefferson*, Thomas.

*Reddie*, John, LL. D. his Letter on the expediency of a new civil code for England, notice of, 111.

*Rees*, Dr. his Cyclopædia, notice of, 348, &c.

*Renwick*, Professor James, his account of the Hudson steam-boats, notice of, 408—his Lardner's Lectures, *ib.*

*Rowe*, (the poet) his life of Shakspeare, notice of, 25.

## S.

*San Marino*, history of the republic of, by Melchior del Fico, notice of, 455—Letter from George Washington Erving, Esq. relative to, 456–467.

*Savary*, the first constructor of practical steam engines, 410–412.

*Scott*, Jonathan, LL. D. his translation of Arabic Tales, with an introduction, &c. illustrative of the religion, manners, customs, &c. of the Mohammedans, reviewed, 283, &c. See *Arabian Tales*.

*Shakspeare*, Memorials of, by Nathan Drake, reviewed, 22, &c.—17th century passed with little notice of Shakspeare, 24—Betterton's materials prefixed by Rowe to an edition of his plays, 25—Pope's edition, *ib.*—attempts upon Shakspeare by Theobald, *ib.*—Sir Thomas Hanmer and Bishop Warburton's commentaries, 26—Dr. Johnson's edition, and his qualifications for the task, 26–29—George Steevens' researches, 29—Johnson & Steevens' editions, *ib.*—Edward Capell's edition, *ib.*—Malone's, 30—Steevens' third and fourth editions, *ib.*—fifth, published after his death, by Reed, *ib.*—his character as an editor and commentator, 31—Malone's last edition published under the auspices of Boswell, *ib.*—



- comparison of Homer and Shakspeare, 33—Shakspeare born at a time peculiarly fitted for the development of his genius, 34—35—his early life, 37—visit to London, 38—his first dramas, 39—his learning, powers of intellect, knowledge of human nature, works, &c. 39—55.
- Silliman*, Professor, his additions to Bakewell's Geology, notice of, 103, 104.
- Southey*, Robert, his Colloquies on the Progress and Prospects of Society, reviewed, 55, &c.—advantageously situated for the manufacture of books, 57—a day in November, 60—his opinion on Owen's system, 61—manufacturing system, 62—steam as an engine of war, 64—Catholic emancipation and Ireland, 65—Dissenters, 66—his ignorance of the people and institutions of the U. States, 67, &c.
- Spain*, A Year in, by a Young American, reviewed, 116, &c.—our author sets out from Peripignan, through Junquera, Figueras, Gerona, 120—Barcelona, 121—public coaches, 122 Tarragona, 123—costume of the Valencians, 125—repast at an inn at Amposta, 125, 126—Valencia, 127, 128—journey to Madrid through San Felipe, Mogente, Almansa, Albacete, El Provencio, Tobos, Ocaña, Aranjuez, 128, 129—Madrid, 130—description of a young Spanish lady, 131—daily avocations in a Spanish family, 132—dramatic performances, 134, 135—journey through Andalusia, 136—the road of Dispeniaperros, 137—Carolina, Baylen, *ib.*—Andujar, Cordova, 138—Carmona, *ib.*—Seville, 140—142—character and disposition of the French soldier, 143.
- Spohn*, Professor, account of, 202, 203.
- States*, right of, to public lands, 271—273.
- Steam-Engine*, extensive application of, 409—Savary the first constructor of, 410—description of his apparatus, 411, 412—Papin, the French claimant to the discovery of, 413—Marquis of Worcester's claims in his "Scantling of One Hundred Inventions," 414—safety valve an important addition to Papin's engine, 415—Hiero, of Alexandria, his description of a machine turned by steam, *ib.*—Blasco de Garay, in 1543, propels a vessel by steam, 416—claims of De Causs and Branca, 417—Newcomen's application the first of real utility, 418—James Watt's sketch of it, 420—and improvements on it, 421—425—Leupold's high pressure engine, 425—Oliver Evans the first constructor of high pressure engines of general powers, 426—high pressure engines patented in England by Trevithick and Vivian, 427—precautions for rendering steam-engines safe, 427, 428—Gurney's steam-carriage, 428—Fulton, Robert, reasons for considering him at the head of those who have applied steam to the propelling of boats, 431—Jonathan Hulls, Perier, Fitch, and Marquis de Jouffroy, 432—Miller and Lord Stanhope, 433—John Stevens, sketch of, *ib.*—he associates with Chancellor Livingston and Nicholas Roosevelt, *ib.*—Livingston and Fulton's first boat, 434—Stevens', *ib.*—Bell, a workman of Fulton's, the first successful constructor of steam-boats in Great Britain, 435—*ib.*—the younger Stevens' boat, the North America, *ib.*
- Steevens*, George, his Shakspearian researches, 29—his edition of Shakspeare in conjunction with Dr. Johnson, *ib.*—his third and fourth editions, 30—fifth, published after his death, by Mr. Reed, *ib.*—his character as an editor and commentator, 31.
- Stevens*, John, his efforts for perfecting steam machinery, 433, &c.
- Stewart*, Dugald, his Philosophy of the Active and Moral Powers of Man, reviewed, 360, &c.—his qualifications and manner, 360—364—remarks on appetite, 366—desire of society, 367—self-love, *ib.*—moral faculty, 368—377.
- Stuart*, R. his history of the steam-engine, descriptive and historical, notice of, 408.
- Sugden*, Mr. his letter on the codification of English law, 110.

## T.

- Theobald*, his attempts upon Shakspeare, 25.
- Thiebaud*, Professor, some account of, 194.
- Thompson*, Benjamin, notice of, and extract from his New England's Crisis, 244.
- Ticknor*, Professor, his commendation of the Encyclopædia Americana, 353.

*Tieck*, German poet, some account of, 199.

*Trumbull*, John, (author of *M'Fingal*,) notice of, 251.

*Turks*, character of the, 227, 228—costume of, 229—amusements, 230—respect to dogs, *ib.*

### U.

*Uniacke*, Crofton, Esq. his plan of a Code of English law, 109.

*United States*, history of, &c. by Timothy Pitkin, reviewed, 378, &c. See *Pitkin*, Timothy.

*University of Paris*, account of, 151–153—of France, 155, &c.

### V.

*Voltaire*, jeu d'esprit of, 342.

*Voss*, Professor, some account of, 195.

### W.

*Wales*, Prince of, his character by Jefferson, 506, 507.

*Warburton*, Bishop, his commentaries on Shakspeare, 26.

*Washington*, President, his exercise of the veto, 392.

*Watt*, James, sketch of, and his improvements on, steam-engines, 420–425.

*Wigglesworth*, E. and Francis Lieber. their *Encyclopædia Americana* reviewed, 331, &c.

*Wigglesworth*, Michael, notice of, 247.

*Williams*, Dr. Thomas, his dictionary of Arts and Sciences, notice of, 334.

*Wolf*, Professor, account of, 209–211.

*Worcester*, Marquis of, his *One Hundred Invections*, notice of, 414.

*Wythe*, George, character of, 503.

